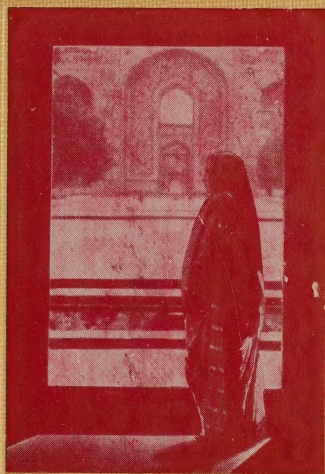


EASTERN WOMEN TODAY AND TOMORROW



RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL

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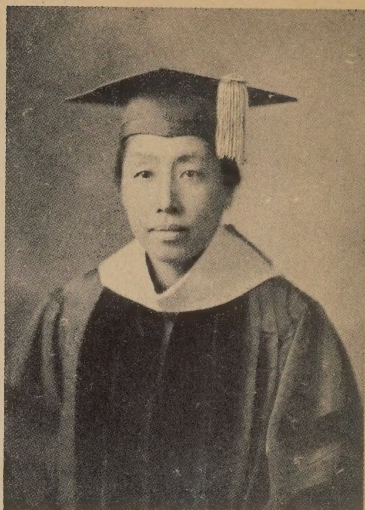
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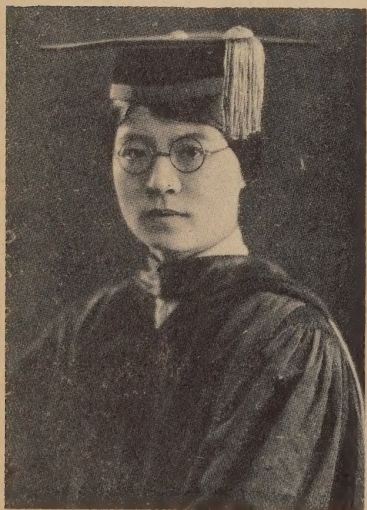
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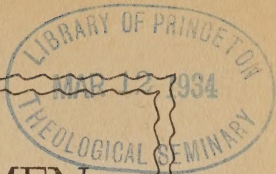


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FOUR COLLEGE EDUCATORS IN THE ORIENT



EASTERN WOMEN

Today and Tomorrow

By ✓✓

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL

1933

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
on the United Study of Foreign Missions
BOSTON, MASS.

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Dedication

TO MY MANY FRIENDS IN THE EAST
WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED SO RICHLY
TO THE THOUGHT OF THIS BOOK.

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Foreword

THE uncounted changes that have taken place throughout the world in very recent years have led to a new valuation of those things that are necessary and worth while in life. That such a probe of the value and need of Foreign Missions as carried on by the Christian churches of America should be made and carefully studied by the women of our churches, is most fitting and timely. All of us need to know in what ways and by what methods we can best help the Eastern Women of Today and Tomorrow.

That the inspiration and help of our Divine Master, Jesus Christ, will bring to our Eastern sisters the highest blessings, spiritual, mental and physical, we realize. Under all the changing conditions that have affected Eastern women in recent years, how can we most adequately share with them the very best that has come into our own lives, and learn from them the wonderful lessons that the East may teach the West?

The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions have been very fortunate in securing as the author of this year's study book Miss Ruth Frances Woodsmall, who has been in the East for a number of years, studying intensively the changing life conditions among Oriental women. In 1930 she was a member of the Commission on Higher Christian Education to Japan. She was also a member of the Fact Finders and later served on the Laymen's Commission. Her scholarly ability and her open-minded approach to the subject, as well as her deep sympathy with the work of missions, qualify her in a peculiar way to lead the women of America in this study.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
ON THE UNITED STUDY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

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Introduction

THE most casual traveller, the careful student of social conditions, the resident of many years' experience in the Orient are all alike impressed by the fundamental changes taking place through the Eastern world. Tradition and custom, which have held the Orient static for centuries and have made it a synonym of changelessness, are being undermined by the impact of new ideas. The most striking evidence of the transformation of the East today is the rapid advance of Eastern women. In the past nothing has so clearly differentiated the Orient from the Occident as the difference in the position of the women of the East and the West. Today these differences are being obliterated. Eastern women are emerging from their seclusion to participate effectively in the life of their day. Only a small number, it is true, are as yet conscious of the new spirit and feel an urge to advance. The great majority of Eastern women, especially in rural Asia, are as yet scarcely aware of any change. But the intensely active and articulate minority is moving forward very rapidly. Numerically a negligible factor, this small group of enlightened leaders has great significance for the future. They may contribute to the permanent progress of the Orient if they assume responsibility for promoting the forward movement of the masses. Otherwise their advance may be harmful as it will mean the widening of the cleavage between the intellectuals and the people in each country of the East.

An understanding of the changing situation in the East, and especially of the new position of women, is of pivotal importance to the missionary enterprise. Its efforts for the development of women have been concentrated in the past on infusing into Eastern life a liberal spirit toward women. Today as a result of world forces, in which Christian influence has played an important role, the new freedom is a reality.

Mission effort in planning for the future must recognize this achievement as the new basis for further endeavor. The changing world of Eastern women presents new problems and responsibilities. Christian missions have helped to prepare women in the Orient for the present freedom; they have now the opportunity of aiding in its wise interpretation. There is little question of the need for continued effort of Christian missions in the East. The primary question is whether or not they can adapt their effort to the demands of the changing situation. Their future effectiveness depends in no small measure on their success in making this readjustment.

In such a period of transition it is exceedingly difficult to follow closely the changing situation. A book a month could scarcely keep one familiar with the shifting scene. Only one who has visited the East personally can realize the full meaning of the progress of Eastern women. Old concepts of the East linger unless one has moved with the crowds in Oriental cities today and talked with women leaders.

It has been my privilege in the last few years to have an intimate experience of the Orient, both in rural and urban life. Through many Eastern women leaders who have shared their thought fully with me, and through American friends, missionaries and others, I have been enabled to interpret the changing Eastern scene. For the last two years the missionary enterprise has been the focus of my attention. From this background of personal contact this book is written. It is an attempt to portray the present situation of Eastern women, especially in India and Burma, China and Japan, and primarily the educated minority because of their potential importance. With this new background as the basis for future Christian effort, the book suggests some of the readjustments necessary in order that Christian missions may continue to participate effectively in the development of women in the changing East.

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL.

PART I

The Present Position of Eastern Women

CHAPTER I

The Romance of Social Change

Nature changes, and so the seasons fulfill their time.
Fang and Wu were those upon whom came the change in the Great Plan.
The Change came in full accord with the will of God.
And in complete response to the need of man.
How great is the time of Change!

—The Book of Changes.

THERE is new romance in the East today, not the romance of the Arabian Nights, of Indian princes of fabulous wealth, of the mysterious Forbidden City of Peiping, or the exotic beauty of flowery Nippon, but the romance of change, which brings the medieval past and the modern world into daily contact and gives the East and West today a common language. On the Indian highway the oxcart and the limousine meet. In China the airplane daily wings its flight from Shanghai to Hankow over the slow-moving Chinese junks on the Yangtze River. In Tokyo thousands of swift taxis have replaced the rickshas. Only a few remain for the use of American tourists, for whom the ricksha, not the taxi, represents their preconceived idea of Japan.

In the most secluded bazaar of the East the phonograph and sewing machine have found their way. In

the large cities Western foods in all shops compete with native products. Western films and talkies replace, as amusements, the Eastern story teller and classic drama. Japan listens in on the world through the medium of the radio. From Saigon in Indo-China one can daily telephone to Paris. Air mail from India to England is commonplace and in the not distant future may also be possible from Nanking to Berlin.

In this panorama of a changing East, no changes are more far-reaching than the transformation in the position of the Eastern woman. Her life in the past has been largely spent within the narrow confines of her own home. Today that life is expanding. She stands on the threshold looking out through an open doorway. Or perhaps she has already passed across the portal and is actively sharing in the activities of the outside world. In either case she is conscious that the future calls her to a wider, freer life.

It is not without significance that the Simon Commission Report in 1930 stresses the importance of Indian women as the key to progress, commenting on the fact that no discussion of India's future could today omit the women of India. "It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which she aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated citizens."¹ The frequent reference to Indian women in both volumes of the Simon Report, whereas in 1919 the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on India had only a casual mention of Indian women in connection with the social obstacles to female education, is a significant evidence of the emergence of

¹ "Report of the Indian Statutory Commission," *Simon Commission Report*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

women upon the Indian scene since the World War. As in India, so elsewhere in the Orient, within the last decade women have been moving forward into a new position of prominence and power.

At the All-India Women's Conference at Madras in December 1931, the address of welcome was given by a Mohammedan lady, making her debut that evening from purdah (literally a curtain symbolizing the veiling and seclusion of women). When the League of Nations Commission, studying the Manchurian problem, visited Shanghai in February 1932, a delegation of prominent Chinese women presented a formal memorandum setting forth the Chinese woman's opinion of the Sino-Japanese conflict. In May 1932, more than a thousand Japanese women with representatives from all classes of society attended a mass meeting for suffrage in Tokyo. These three entirely isolated occurrences are indications of the same process of social change which is passing over the East today. The casual traveller in the Orient may not realize their full significance, but the foreign resident will recognize in them evidence of a fundamental change in attitude toward women, which is transforming the social system of the East. This conditions all other changes and is the key factor in giving women a new status.

As widely different as the countries of the Orient may be in many respects, society in the East as a whole has rested on the basis of the segregation of women. The idea of separating women from the outside world and restricting their activities has been characteristic alike of India, China and Japan, but the separation of women in China and Japan has been in no sense comparable to their seclusion in India.

In China the bound feet have always symbolized the idea of seclusion. A woman's sphere was her own courtyard. To remain within her own walls or move about only in a curtained chair was the mark of social distinction. Women with large feet were scorned as being workers or perhaps slaves. The tiny feet determined the whole scope of a woman's activity. With the passing of foot-binding the separation of women from outside life has ceased to be the ideal. An old Chinese lady in Hankow with tiny feet, not more than a few inches long, commented on the great contrast between her life and that of her daughter. "She has large feet. They were bound as a child but unbound when the custom began to change. Now she can go everywhere and see the world. I cannot walk far. I have seen very little." The unbound feet are indeed today a fitting symbol for the unbound mind. The Chinese woman's thought is no longer limited to the secluded courtyard but has a far wider range.

The old idea of the typical wife expressed in the title "Okusama," "The Lady of the Inside" or of the "Honorable Backroom," has hitherto deprived Japan of much of the creative energy of half of her people. The Japanese woman's seclusion, however, did not mean actual separation from outside life. The Japanese woman has not been cut off from the world, kept in inner courtyards or behind the veil. She has always moved about freely in her daily shopping, and enjoyed the festivals and holidays with her family but her home has absorbed her attention. Detached from outside interests she has devoted herself to home-making as to a fine art, characterized by perfection, precision, and restrained simplicity. Her housekeep-

ing, with its endless routine and infinite attention to every detail, has developed into a house-ritual. The "Honorable Backroom" has had a quiet charm and aloofness. This old idea of the home has not included the free intermingling of guests in the home. The husband's entertaining has been largely carried on outside. The wife has been the home-maker and the mother, not the hostess. The home has had none of the casual coming and going of the "social center" type of home of the West. But the "Okusama" and the "Honorable Backroom" is beginning to give way to modern influences, which are developing a new idea and technique of home-making.

In India, the idea of seclusion has prevailed for all women. Reticence and retirement have always been qualities inherent in the idea of Indian womanhood. The Indian woman has remained contented in the home, absorbed in home duties, not intermingling freely with men. In the ordinary flow of daily life women have had little occasion for outside contact. But the word seclusion in India calls up another picture—the figure of a woman in a burqa, the all enveloping mask-like garment, worn by the woman in purdah, which entirely conceals her personality. This figure personifies the system of purdah, which has kept millions of women immured, cut off from all normal activity. The whole life of a purdah woman has been spent, as it were, behind a curtain in a world which no men except her own immediate family could enter. Not even men servants could come within the zenana. These inner courtyards and rooms of the women's quarters have been the stage on which her life's drama has been acted. Visits to the outside have

been rare occasions and then only in a curtained conveyance.

For the higher class purdah woman, seclusion has been complete. The purdahnashin of the middle class, the woman behind the purdah, has aspired to the same degree of separation, as it carries the stamp of aristocracy. But for her, purdah has been a greater hardship since her zenana is smaller and her range of activity more limited. A woman of the lower class—for purdah extends far down the social scale—has required more freedom to move about because of the necessity to earn her livelihood, but the veil drawn over her face, and the head turned away from the passerby have indicated her sense of withdrawal. Although Islamic in origin, purdah has not been limited to Mohammedan women; many Hindus also have observed it rigidly. This social custom, which a Mohammedan woman in Calcutta describes as "a painless death by carbon dioxide" has engendered abnormal sex consciousness, and has cast a sinister shadow on the life of India.

The segregation of women, which in varying degrees has characterized the life of the Orient and differentiated it from Western life, might be interpreted as meaning that women have been without power. Such an inference, however, would be a fallacy. Women of the older generation have always wielded great authority. According to seniority women have held the sceptre of home rule, receiving deference from the sons and male members of the household and unquestioning obedience from the younger women, especially the young daughters-in-law and the timid young brides. A prominent Indian from Madras told the writer that

he could not go abroad for study because his mother opposed it and had threatened suicide if he should go. He submitted to her wishes and remained at home. His case is probably not an isolated example. To the younger generation of women in the household under the older woman's domination, the law of compensation brought a sense of rather grim satisfaction. Suffering silently half their lives, they have waited patiently until they themselves attained to the position of power. Then during the rest of their lives they have enjoyed their own complete dominion. The older woman of the Eastern social order has certainly not been devoid of power but her power has been restricted and concentrated on home affairs.

Today the base of influence is broadening and the field of women's activity is being extended. There are indications everywhere of this shifting of the center of a woman's life. Those who are familiar with the East are aware of sharp contrasts between the situation today and that of the last ten or twenty years. The new and the old are also often in close juxtaposition in the present as the situation is full of the paradoxes of a transition period.

In India where one has always had the definite feeling of being in a man's world because of the secluded life of women, one is impressed now with the number of women in evidence. This is true, not only in Bombay, which is noted for the advanced position of women, and in Madras with its general atmosphere of freedom of women, but also in Calcutta, a much more conservative city, and in Lahore, in the purdah-bound atmosphere of the Punjab. Mohammedan women, riding in tongas in Lahore with their burqas thrown back

from their faces or in motor cars with merely the flimsiest suggestion of a purdah curtain between themselves and the world, give evidence of a very definite breaking of the old idea of seclusion.

Purdah may be taken as a reliable barometer of change. It registers today as a steadily declining force. There will probably be no sudden marked change which will immediately affect a large number, as has been the case in some distinctly Islamic countries, notably Turkey and more recently Persia. The breaking of purdah in India will come slowly but steadily with the growth of public opinion. This is being created by the constant increase in the number of individual Mohammedan women who are stepping out from behind their curtained life. Each unveiled convert from purdah becomes a forceful advocate against the system. The decline of purdah is measured not only by the number of those who have given up the veil but also by the degree of influence of the unveiled. The example in Lahore of Lady Shafi and her daughters, the first Mohammedan family to unveil, has been felt not only there but in other Mohammedan communities in India. The recent unveiling of Lady Abdul Qadir, also in Lahore, after her return from Europe, will furnish a distinguished example for other Mohammedan families of less social position and status. The importance of having women of social position and acknowledged leadership break purdah is incalculable since purdah has been regarded as an evidence of social status. When it ceases to bear the hall mark of social prestige, then its power will be seriously undermined. The religious sanction of purdah, as it has been interpreted in India, has been a great deterrent to reform. But the

dictates of religion will not be able indefinitely to withstand the steadily growing social pressure.

Although influences from the top eventually filter into the middle class, changes here will come slowly—so slowly in fact that the outsider may have only an impression of the continued rigidity of the purdah system. But the purdahnashin, in her zenana, is conscious of changes which mark for her milestones of freedom. While visiting in a zenana in Lucknow, a very conservative Mohammedan city, the writer asked whether any changes were taking place. The response from the hostess, a friendly Mohammedan of middle age, was immediate. "Oh, great changes! Women are allowed to travel in order to visit their relatives and to go out for a bit of air, but, of course, they must be thoroughly covered, and must be carried in a closed conveyance so that no man can see their faces."

Even more indicative of the new currents of freedom is the unconscious reaction of youth to the restrictions of purdah. A group of school girls from the Forman School in Lahore leaves their burqas at school while they go to the missionary's compound a mile away to practice for the Badminton Tournament at the Y. W. C. A. This same group also cannot resist the thrill of being in the photograph of their winning team, although the decree of purdah is strictly opposed to photographs, and especially if taken by a man. But sport tournaments and the many other influences of modern education are incompatible with burqas and the restrictions of a purdah regime.

In China when one sees the streets of Canton crowded with women moving about normally as in a

Western city, it is hard to realize that this is, after all, only the result of the last few years since the Nationalists' régime. The wholesale widening of streets has cut through the barriers that held women in their own courtyards. Formerly, in the days of the narrow roads, women of the better classes did not move about on foot and only women of means could afford to take chairs. Many women practically never left their own quarters. The servants did all the shopping. Later, women of the better classes began to circulate freely in the stores. The widening of the roads brought first the ricksha, then the automobile and with each came an increasing measure of freedom. A resident in Shanghai comments on a similar change there. Few Chinese women were in evidence on the streets twenty years ago—only servant women bearing burdens, or sing-song girls being carried from tea house to tea house in sedan chairs, or Chinese ladies going out for a visit in closed carriages. This is indeed a strange contrast to the Shanghai which we know today, with women everywhere in evidence, walking, riding in rickshas and motor cars, thronging the cinema, and working together in normal association with men.

When one thinks of the crowds of Japanese women and girls in railway stations, on elevated trains, in department stores, theatres, hotels and shops, rubbing elbows with men and carrying on the business and pleasure of life as if in San Francisco or New York, it seems exotic to discuss Japan in anything but Western terms. To outward appearance, certainly, the idea of seclusion of women in Japan is obsolete. But in modern Japan, as elsewhere, the old type lingers, not yet

altogether replaced by the new, although the current of Westernization and social advance is swift and strong.

This shifting of the focus of the life of women in the Orient from the home to the world outside is the most striking evidence of the basic process of change that is taking place in the traditional social system of the East. In this social transformation the pivotal change is the disintegration of the traditional family system of the East. Due to a composite of forces, economic pressure, industrialization, and the permeation of the East with Western social and political influences, the patriarchal family is ceasing to be the atomic unit of Oriental society.

Modern conditions make living in the large home, with all the sons and their families and a wide circle of relatives, supported out of a common purse, increasingly difficult. Today economic necessity demands that the wage-earners should support themselves and their immediate families. The sons and even the daughters begin to leave the home to earn their livelihood. As long as the members of the family depended on the common purse, there was family solidarity. But economic independence naturally brings independence of family ties. Furthermore, modern education and new social ideals reinforce the demands of economic necessity. The nationalist spirit leads toward more individual initiative than the large family group made possible, and wider loyalties than family allegiance. Such a combination of influences has made the passing of the old family system and the organization of life on a more individual basis inevitable.

In India the transfer of the base of Hindu family life can take place only very slowly, due to the complex Hindu legal code based on the joint family. The conservatism of a religious minority tends to stabilize the basis of Mohammedan family life. The tendency toward the disintegration of the Chinese family system is very marked in some areas but there is no uniformity of change in such a vast country. This trend away from the large family is more significant in China than in India, because the family has been through centuries the bulwark of Chinese civilization. In Japan due to economic pressure, the solidarity of family life is being steadily undermined. With the constant drift of labor from rural to urban centers and the increase in types of employment, the decline of the old family system is a logical result. An interesting development in Japan is the idea of the nation as a family. Filial respect to family ancestors and honor to the Imperial Head of the Nation are closely identified.

What this change from the larger patriarchal family means to an Oriental woman it is difficult for a Westerner to imagine. One catches glimpses of Eastern family life from visits to Indian zenanas with the large gatherings of women, all mysteriously a part of the same family, or to Chinese households with their numerous courtyards for the many different groups. A Chinese woman describes the old Chinese household as "a noisy community, a dwelling place of many groups. There are the aged mother and father, the grown sons with their wives, grandchildren, unmarried daughters, a widowed sister of the head of the house with her children and perhaps a number of other relatives. Thirty persons would be a medium-sized fam-

ily.”² The transition from this complex community to the individual home of husband and wife and children is the change which the breaking of the old family system is steadily effecting.

This has its great advantages as well as its disadvantages especially for those of limited means who do not keep servants. Doctor Luella Miner, of Cheeloo University, Tsinan, China, tells of a call made on the young wife of a doctor in her charming little home in a courtyard surrounded by high walls of neighbors' homes, to ask why she was not attending the meetings of Doctor Stanley Jones held every morning. She explained that she or her husband must always be at home unless some friend will be a watchman for them. No locking of gates and doors secures against sneak thieves. One had recently arrived over roofs during a very brief absence of the lady of the house. But the chance for love to grow and ripen in this atmosphere of privacy, the delightful experiments in cookery shared by the husband, and the chance for intellectual growth and independence of judgment, contrast strongly with the chill atmosphere of the patriarchal home where love of a wife is interpreted often as disloyalty to parents. And when children come into the home, the freedom from interference when the new ideas of hygiene and child-training are set in operation is priceless, for it means not only happiness in the home but laying the foundations for a new and better society.

Intimately related to the changing family system are the new concepts of marriage and home relation-

² Mrs. T. C. Chu, *The Changing Chinese Woman*. Peking Leader Press; 1926.

ships. The old family ideal was built around certain social customs all of which were in harmony. The new family order now evolving also demands harmony, hence necessitates new social concepts. To understand the trends of change one must have a composite picture of the traditional ideas of marriage and the home.

Under the old régime the motivation of marriage was the preservation of the family into which the woman married. The marriage was made by arrangement. The betrothed couple had little, if any, voice in the decision and often no previous acquaintance. Equality of financial and social standing of the two families was a primary consideration. Mutual love and happiness of the betrothed were not the bases of choice, although doubtless in many cases they may have been the result of marriage. The happiness of the individual was not the objective. It would be untrue to imply that life on this basis has been devoid of happiness. There are many Eastern homes where mutual devotion of husband and wife and joy in children have created a true family life. But the accepted idea of marriage was not love and then marry, but marry and then you may love. There was always the lurking fear in the wife's mind that if she had no children, especially no son, another wife might enter the home or she might even be divorced. Self-abnegation and sacrifice were accepted as moral obligations. Three obediences were the law of a woman's life: as an unmarried daughter, obedience to her father; as a wife, obedience to her husband; as a widow, obedience to her son. A woman had no individuality. Her life was at all times merged in that of another. Marriage was her destiny; without marriage she had no status. Motherhood was her



A Mohammedan Girl in Purdah at an Early Age, a Custom Incongruous
with the Spirit of Modern India

sacred obligation; without children marriage was a failure.

Since marriage was the only goal for every girl, it became the sole objective of the parents and early marriage represented the achievement of the goal. This has been the prevailing concept of India but not of China and Japan. Betrothal took place early in China but actual marriage not until after sixteen years of age. The older bride was often preferred in China because of the greater service she could render to the mother-in-law or to the senior woman member of the family. Japan also has not been characterized by an early marriage age, perhaps due to the prevailing later age among the aristocracy, which always sets the social standard. But in India early marriage means child-marriage and calls up the vision of millions of child brides from the cradle to the tender age of adolescence.³ Child widowhood completes the picture. In a bare enumeration of facts, the 1921 census gives the striking total of 26,000,000 widows.⁴ These figures become vivid realities when one sees the throng of coarsely robed widows, their red saris drawn closely over their shaven heads, bathing in the Ganges in the cold dawn or making the rounds of the temple at Benares, seeking in lives of religious devotion to expiate their Karma (fate) of widowhood.

³ There were 218,400 brides under 5 years of age, 2,000,600 between 5 and 10 years of age, 6,300,000 between 10 and 15 years of age, making a total of about 8½ million under 15 years of age. (1921 Census.)

⁴ Of the total widows 750 were under 1 year of age, 15,000 under 5 years of age, 102,000 between 5 and 10 years of age, 279,000 between 10 and 15 years of age. 1921 Census and *Review of the Growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, Oct., 1929 (Hartog Report), p. 153.

In other countries of the East there is no parallel to the loneliness and degradation of Indian widowhood. Widows in China often had a position of great importance in the family life with full financial responsibility and a great deal of power. As the head of the family was determined by lineal descent, it might be either a man or women. Remarriage, though not forbidden, was not encouraged. The memorial arches throughout China, erected by widows who did not remarry, testify to this ideal of virtue.

In the crowded streets of Tokyo the shaven head of a Japanese widow, the symbol of her widowhood, often attracts attention and reminds one that the traditional attitude was to set widows apart and discountenance their remarriage. The lack of inheritance rights, the idea of upholding direct lineage, has made the widow dependent on the family for support. Even these present legal disabilities of widows, established by the Civil Code after the new era of Japan, represent a great advance over the old precepts controlling women, which were a combination of Buddhism, Confucianism and the family system.

As widely different as the countries of the East have been in their marriage customs and social practices, the basic idea of marriage and home relationship has been much the same. The development of the individual has been secondary to the preservation of the family. Women have received scant recognition as independent personalities. With the shifting of the family system, as we have said, changes in all the concepts of the family are inevitable. Early marriage, arranged by the heads of the family, financial dependence, low status of widows and plural wives were all

a part of the old family idea. These social handicaps are not in harmony with the new day and are passing with the dissolution of the traditional family system.

As marriage and the home are slowly being established on a more personal basis, the age of marriage is naturally being raised. The young bride had a definite place in the old family system as another daughter in the household to be trained by the mother-in-law and to serve her. But the individual home, the new ideal, is based on companionship and mental congeniality between the husband and wife. This sets up a standard for brides which the child bride cannot meet. The trend toward the later marriage age is especially significant in India. Although, even under changing conditions, it is still much earlier than in China or Japan, the upward tendency is important when compared with former Indian standards. Not merely beauty of the established type but a certain amount of education now becomes an asset. This means a later marriage age. The daily advertisements in the Indian press reflect this changing ideal of marriage standards for girls; for example in a Lahore newspaper: "Wanted a beautiful, educated girl for a B.A. London returned Hindu. No caste restrictions. Large personal income." is typical.

In China and Japan, there is also an upward trend in the age of marriage but this does not have the same meaning as an index of change that it has in India. According to recent social studies, the estimate of the average marriage age for cities is twenty or over and in country areas not earlier than eighteen. In Japan the equality of educational advantages for girls and boys together with the entrance of girls into economic

life tends to postpone marriage to a later age. Twenty or later is said to be characteristic.

Although in the great majority of cases throughout the Orient, the marriage is arranged by parents or the go-between, the movement toward the marriage by personal choice is unmistakable. The new ideal of marriage on the basis of the happiness of husband and wife repudiates the old impersonal method. Girls of the younger generation are beginning to protest against the marriage by family contract. "It is humiliating," said a Brahman school girl to an older Indian friend, "to be adorned, and exhibited to visitors with the idea of being chosen by them as a possible daughter-in-law of their house." Young men refuse to abide by the parents' choice, even in China, where the sense of filial duty is very strong. An elderly woman in Hankow, China, in a tone of resignation deplored her son's unwillingness to marry the girl whom she had chosen for him. "I have arranged the marriages of all of the others. He writes from Shanghai that he can choose for himself."

What a world of difference there is between the old arranged marriage in which the betrothed couple did not meet until the wedding night and the new method which makes possible the following wedding announcement:

"To our teachers, friends and relatives:

Through the introduction of Mr. and Mrs. Wang we have been friends for half a year and now are going to have our Wedding Day on March seventh, P.M. in the Dining Parlor of the Chung Hwa Hotel, Tibet Road, Shanghai. You

are cordially invited to attend the ceremony and tea party without any gift on account of our national crisis, but good wishes and best regards from you are heartily appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

(Both names signed)"

In a marriage based on the ideal of individual happiness, obviously the secondary wife or concubine has no logical place. With the preservation of the family as the primary goal of marriage, the concubine was often a necessary addition. Sometimes the first wife, if childless, even chose the concubine in order to ensure the continuity of the family. The entrance of the concubine, whether welcome or not, did not lower the first wife's prestige. As marriage becomes a matter of individual choice, the concubine represents personal competition and is deeply resented.

The protest against sharing the home with another wife or concubine is paralleled by the changing attitude toward divorce. As marriage ceases to be regarded with fatalistic finality by women, divorce is recognized as a possible solution for unsuccessful marriages. The man's monopoly to divorce, moreover, is questioned. This is as yet not a marked trend in India but in China equality of divorce rights has been definitely claimed by women. The increase in divorce in Shanghai (in 1929, 645 were reported, in 1930, 853, in addition to many by mutual agreement which were not reported) and especially the number initiated by women (in Peiping in 1930, 30 per cent were initiated by women) register the changing attitude of Chinese women toward divorce. Although women formerly were not

entirely without divorce rights, social ostracism was a stronger deterrent. Public opinion is slowly changing but a divorced wife still very generally bears a certain social stigma. The inequality of the terms of divorce in Japan probably has prevented an increase in divorce, as women thereby forfeit the control over their children and have no property rights, not even maintaining their share of a family-earned income.

Not one of the least significant evidences of social change is the awakening interest in the limitation of the size of the family. When women of the East cease to accept fatalistically the bearing of children as the end and aim of marriage, a vital change has taken place. The old system demanded of women frequent procreation. Her main responsibility was to perpetuate the family, while today, she has perhaps the responsibility of deciding whether the family should be limited. The idea of quality not quantity is beginning to take root.

A prominent Brahman in Madras comments on this trend in India: "The idea of birth control is very new to India but is fast gaining support both among men and women. Surprisingly little objection is raised on religious grounds. The physical drain on the mother and the economic drain on the family on account of frequent child-bearing are so great that a means of escape is gratefully welcome. One may expect birth control to be widely practiced by the mothers of the next generation among the educated classes. It is significant that in Madras Presidency and in Mysore some of the most highly respected public leaders are doing propoganda for birth control."

Among educated leaders in China there is a good deal of private discussion but very little active promo-

tion of birth control as the idea runs counter to traditional Chinese thought. According to Confucius' teaching, failure to provide a male heir was a cardinal sin and death without an heir, a curse. In the minds of the intelligentsia, however, economic pressure from overpopulation clearly demands a solution, not found in Confucian philosophy, but possibly offered by birth control. For a Chinese woman the acceptance of the thought of birth control is, therefore, according to Mrs. Sophia Chen Zen, a leading young Chinese writer, a revolutionary change in Chinese mentality. It represents a long journey psychologically and mentally from the concept of the three obediences and the highest filial duty fulfilled through the birth of a son.⁵

Economic determinism gives the reason in Japan, also, for the growing interest in this subject which is considered of such national importance that a government commission has been studying it. The growth of the Birth Control Movement, a separate woman's movement, is an evidence of the active interest of women. According to Baroness Ishimoto, the leader of the movement, its motivation is social as well as economic. In her opinion the idea of birth control is essential to the improving of the social status of women. A professor at Waseda University, in discussing modern social trends, makes the statement that students are widely interested and well informed on birth control and that this question plays an important part in marriage in present-day Japan.

Two very important factors in the social changes of

⁵ Mrs. Sophia Chen Zen (Editor), "Concluding Remarks," *Symposium of Chinese Culture*, China Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai; 1931. p. 366.

the East are the passing of new laws and the promotion of social reform by an enlightened minority of men and women, in whom a consciousness of individual responsibility for social evils has awakened. The socially minded women leaders in the Orient, although a very small number, constitute collectively one of the most potent forces for promoting the new social order. The objectives of social reform vary in the different countries according to the social evils peculiar to each, but the reform spirit in all alike is motivated by a new feeling of social solidarity. The result of these reform efforts is already evident to some extent in new laws and less tangibly in a slowly changing public opinion.

India offers the most striking illustration of an active protest against existing social evils. Child marriage has long been an object of special attack, the result of which was the Child Marriage Restraint Act, commonly known as the Sarda Act, signed in April 1930. This law makes child marriage and hence child widowhood illegal, and establishes the marriage age at fourteen for girls and sixteen for boys. The laws of a number of the Indian States endorsing widows' rights are significant. Legislative attempts in the Central Legislature to give inheritance rights to widows have up to the present time failed, but an increasing enlightened public recognizes that such legislative rights are urgently needed to ameliorate the calamity of widowhood. Public opinion is also becoming more vocal against purdah and polygamy. Neither of these social customs decreed by Islam can be attacked by legislation, as the law of Islam is sacrosanct but as we have shown, there are evidences of women in



A TYPICAL HINDU GIRL
A Familiar Figure in India

purdah lifting the veil. Against caste, the central evil of Hinduism, Indian women have spoken individually and collectively through their All-India Conference. Prohibition and propaganda against the drug traffic have engaged the attention of women led by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Under the aggressive leadership of Doctor Muthulakshmi Reddi, legislation against the Devadasi System (Temple Prostitution) was passed in the Madras Presidency. The All-India Vigilance Association with branches in several cities is carrying on an active campaign against traffic in women and girls which constitutes a very serious problem.

In China in the first National Convention of the Kuomintang party in 1924 at Nanking, the principle of equality between men and women in legal, financial, educational and social rights was declared. Foot-binding was prohibited by special order of the Ministry, approved by the National Government. The new Civil Code which became effective in May 1931 gave the definite legal sanction for a higher social status of women. It was ruled that, "an agreement to marry shall be made by the male and female parties of their own accord." This does away with the betrothal by parents. That the concubine is not mentioned is also significant, although provision is made for the legal recognition of children born out of wedlock. Through ignoring ancestral worship, the civil code gave it no legal sanction, which automatically destroys the idea of the priority of sons over daughters; the latter now, if unmarried, have equal rights of inheritance with sons. Property rights with full powers of disposal are accorded to the wife; equality of divorce is insured;

obedience to the husband is not required; and Chinese nationality is secured to women unless it is voluntarily renounced.

Thus we see that legal reform affecting the status of women has gone much further in China than in India. There has not been, however, as vigorous a promotion of social reforms by individuals and groups as in India. There is no collective force among Chinese women comparable to the All-India Women's Conference. Recently, however, women's protests in China are becoming articulate as illustrated by the attack against the system of concubinage, which was sent to the Nanking Government by the Shanghai Woman's Association and by the formation of the Anti-Slave Girl Society in Amoy in 1930. Women are also becoming active in their efforts to eradicate opium exploitation, and sing-song houses, and to promote vocational training, free hospitals, and factory legislation.

The situation in Japan has not been as conducive to radical social reforms as in China or India where the Nationalist movements, sweeping away old convention, have carried the cause of women forward on the tide of general advance. Viewed over a period of years certain definite gains have been made. By the Civil Code adopted in 1888, polygamy was abolished, and the right to marry without the parents' consent. The Supreme Court ruled in 1927 to give to a deserted wife rights to claim damages from the husband and from the woman who lured him away. The present social inequalities of Japanese women are based on the lack of independent economic status, stabilized by law. They are without property rights or any legitimate claim to

an income, even though it has been jointly earned by the wife and the husband. Inheritance laws are also unequal in their provisions for men and women, even recognizing the rights of a son of an illegitimate marriage over the daughter of the legal marriage, provided the son has legal registration.

Women are attacking the problem of social inequality through a campaign for political rights in the belief that legal social equality will only be secured when women have the vote. Through suffrage women will have a share in determining laws. Hence the drive for suffrage is the drive for social reform. Against social evils, intemperance and vice, Japanese women leaders have rallied as in a crusade. The inspiration of these reform efforts has been the W.C.T.U. The founder was Mrs. Yajima, the great pioneer, whose work today is carried forward by leaders like Mrs. Kubishiro and Mrs. Gamutell. The Salvation Army is also doing very effective work in the purity campaign through one of the younger leaders, Miss Yamamura. A small minority of women is intensely active in reform efforts. Upon them devolves the responsibility of overcoming the general apathy of the great majority who accept their handicaps. The highly unified imperialistic regime of Japan has favored social conservatism and blocked radical reforms. Hence the changes in social status have lagged behind the general social changes in women's lives. But these must come as the inevitable result of economic pressure and the steady permeation of Japan with modern influences.

All of these social changes which are so completely reshaping the life of Oriental women in the home and in society are phases of the great central change. The

control of the family and of the social system as a whole is giving way. The individual is being liberated for freedom of thought and action. Women are gaining by this transformation a new independence of personality which entails the responsibility for individual choice. The old external control established certain fixed moral and social standards. The new individual control must now determine its limits of freedom.

CHAPTER II

The Problems of the New Freedom

And when old words die out on the tongue, new melodies break forth from the heart; *and where the old tracks are lost, new country is revealed with its wonders.*

—Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali*.¹

WITH its changing customs and new laws sanctioning freedom of personality for women, the period of social re-organization in the Orient has opened a world of expanding opportunity. But as is inevitable in a period of social transition, the larger liberty is fraught with problems unknown to the old era. Freedom is not without its price. The new social order, with its inherent dangers is "threatened with becoming a social disorder," as Mr. L. K. Tao, a Chinese sociologist, expresses it.² The swift current of modern thought rushing into the Orient through many channels has swept away familiar landmarks and flooded Eastern life, especially the life of youth, with many conflicting influences. The shift from the old social system to the new is in reality a shift in social philosophy, not of decades, but of centuries. It represents a change in thought and action comparable to the change from the ricksha to the airplane. For one accustomed to the Western environment of unconscious social freedom and natural social contact, it is difficult to realize concretely all that the new era means.

Formerly the Indian girl after a few short years in school passed in a day from childhood into premature womanhood to spend the rest of her life behind the

¹ Macmillan Co. 1930.

² L. K. Tao, "Social Changes," *Symposium on Chinese Culture*, p. 353.

purdah, always under the watchful control of the mother-in-law. Girlhood was an unknown experience. Early motherhood claimed her attention when girls of other countries were still make-believe mothers playing with their dolls. But, today, with the force of public opinion and the law against child marriage, the period of carefree adolescence is added to the Indian girl's life. The school years are prolonged. Marriage is postponed. The school girl even has some choice in her life's decision, as to whether it will be marriage or a career. Marriage closed the door to girlhood with all its problems in the old régime. Now that this period is added to her life, how will the adolescent girl be given adequate training for her future, whether for a career or for marriage? To solve this problem is the major responsibility of the schools for girls in the Orient.

Youth faces, today, a new ideal of marriage which offers freedom from the restraints and convention of the large family with its many complex relationships. Where will this ideal lead? How are the most precious values of the old family ideals to be conserved? What will take the place of the three obediences in China which were the solid foundation of a Chinese woman's life? Eastern leaders in their early thirties, still considered progressive by the older generation and closely in touch with youth, are deeply troubled over the new social standards which they see gaining headway in the advanced student group. Their own moral problems lay in the struggle for the right to choose a career or marriage, and if marriage, one on the basis of love. Now that these rights are established, youth demands a liberal self-expression, for some at least have moved

the frontier of freedom into the realm of free love and companionate marriage without social or religious sanctions.

But it must be remembered that in China the very advanced student group with extreme ideas is a minority. Probably the majority of students is still guided by old standards. Because of its capacity for leadership, however, the advanced group is significant. Of the social and moral effects of these extremes of freedom, one can learn through the experience of social workers, women deans, Y.W.C.A. secretaries, heads of student hospitals and women doctors. A study of the cases of unmarried mothers by the Social Service Department of the Peiping Union Medical Service reveals the dangers inherent in the wrong interpretation of freedom. The adjustment to personal freedom is the primary problem of the present period.

The extreme interpretation of freedom by student youth is more prevalent in China than in India. The prevailing religious conservatism has doubtless acted as a stabilizing influence in India. Perhaps also India's complexity and lack of unity has set up cross-currents which have slowed up the movement and prevented extremes of social advance. In Japan there has not been an outburst of vigorous nationalism as in both China and India so that this impetus of change, which tends to break down social conservatism, is lacking. How strong the undercurrent of excessive social freedom may be in Japan, however, it is difficult to say.

It is not strange that youth should be bewildered moving from the fixed limits of the old system, which offered no opportunity for acquaintance even with a fiancé, into the freedom of social relationships of the

present day. A missionary in China narrates an incident of the early days when "a middle school girl was prostrated in bed for two days because the young man to whom she was betrothed inconsiderately called at the office of the principal and she was so unfortunate as to see him from a distance! The disgrace would not have been so deep if her schoolmates had not known that her maiden eyes must have fallen on his manly form." Now young men and women often visit in the bedroom of either one, in hotels and even in school dormitories. Of course, regulations in Christian coeducational schools are more strict and are enforced, but enforcement is resented in government schools, and a recent attempt to accomplish it by stationing police at the entrance of the women's dormitory in one college was not entirely happy.

Lack of knowledge of the new social and moral code and lack of opportunity for social contact constitute the great problem. Few homes can help in the readjustment as the parents belong to the old régime. In social ideas the younger and older generation are separated not merely by years but by centuries, Youth and age speak a different language. Few parents realize the dangers of the situation. As an American teacher in a coeducational university said, "Sometimes the parents worry about such things as young men and women students skating together without realizing that they are really on thin ice most of the time." But it requires more than mere worry. A new standard is needed which few parents can give. The old standard has lost its authority before the new controls have been established. Hence there is moral uncertainty. The traditional behaviour patterns no longer set limits of

action. In the old days all decisions were made arbitrarily. Today each individual determines everything. A young girl from a student hostel in Tokyo, who had been visiting freely one of the men students in his room after the theatre, was surprised to be told that this did not conform to the social conventions of the West. According to the movies it seemed to be the established thing, she explained. "What can we do?" said a Chinese mother, a graduate of Vassar College, "young people have the idea from the movies that American college students do nothing but dance and indulge in night life. Movies, today, not missionaries, largely determine social ideas. If America could prevent Hollywood from turning out the wrong kind of pictures, it would be a great service to China."

Students lack knowledge and social experience but guidance from more mature people is difficult because of the dominant desire among youth for experimentation. There is a strong feeling that morals are a personal matter, not determined by social conventions or religion. The trial and error method in everything is desired. All of this leads to a disregard of public opinion or rather to the forming of a special public opinion among students, which insists on equality of moral standard for both sexes.

To appreciate this new spirit of moral adventure, one needs only to see the crowds of Chinese girl students who flock to Peiping from all over China, thronging the government schools, living independent lives entirely free from any family control. The small group who may choose to live in the Y. W. C. A. hostel, perhaps unconsciously desiring the home atmosphere, will brook little restraint from the kindly but solicitous

head of the house. Free to come, they are equally free to leave if the home proves too restraining. Not protection but freedom is what they crave, a freedom for which the home in the interior of China and the mother with bound feet and without knowledge of the outside world could give little preparation. In the old days there was such fear of social contact that if a young girl had a note from a young man, the family would probably immediately send her away with a chaperone to a boarding school.

Undoubtedly one of the most serious handicaps in the development of a sane and natural use of freedom is the lack of normal social contacts for young people. As we have said, comparatively few homes have developed home life on the basis of mixed social life. Few schools give sufficient attention to the marginal time of students. Churches offer a meeting place, but few have carefully planned and well-directed social activities. There is very little opportunity for social relationship in community life. There is almost an utter paucity of recreation which supplies normal outlets in social activity. Public parks, play-grounds, community swimming pools, and public gymnasiums are non-existent in many Oriental cities. The contrast of a large city like Calcutta or Peiping with any average-sized American city as to recreation facilities is striking.

The insistent question in the East is, "Where will young people gain their normal social outlets?" "We may now have more personal choice in marriage," said a Japanese college girl, "but we have so few chances for making social acquaintances." Until there is more provision for normal mixed social life, the old system of marriage by family arrangement will naturally per-

sist or the new will be exceedingly difficult. In the shifting from family choice to personal selection in marriage, young women throughout the East face a new problem. Marriage ceases to be fore-ordained. Formerly all girls knew they would be married. The unmarried woman was a distinct exception. Today many women will remain unmarried both from necessity and from preference.

Some women leaders like Doctor Pao Sweng Tseng emphasize the danger of too many girls being led away from marriage by the urge to social welfare and national service.³ Other leaders welcome the trend away from marriage as a natural reaction from the old idea of the inevitability of marriage. Not all women, in their opinion, are destined to be married. The East needs the same type of concentrated service of unmarried, socially minded women as that which has contributed so much to the development of the West. A Japanese woman in personal conversation emphasized the difficulty of the unmarried woman in Japan. She does not yet have the status and prestige of a married woman. Many women, therefore, fall back on marriage but try also to keep up their career—a difficult combination.

In regard to the marriage of Chinese college girls, a serious problem arises from the fact that a large number of men students are already married. This same situation is also true of the high school. The actual number of men in proportion to women students is six to one but the number of married men students is the crucial question. Hence the girl's prospects of being

³ Miss Pao Sweng Tseng, "Chinese Women Past and Present," *Symposium on Chinese Culture*, p. 341.

married, unless as a second wife, are seriously curtailed. In college life the problem is intensified by the close association and congeniality of interest. The natural result of such companionship in many cases is the desire for marriage. The first wife, who has remained at home under the tutelage of the mother-in-law, or senior woman of the family, although socially her husband's equal, is uneducated and cannot compete with the well-educated, attractive college girl. Hence the fear of being set aside weighs heavily on the hearts of these old-fashioned wives, who through no fault of their own cannot satisfy their husbands' needs. On the other hand, the college woman sees herself deprived of her chance of marriage because the companion of her choice has already been married, under the old system. What is the answer to this social dilemma?

In many cases the first wife is divorced and suffers loneliness, economic insecurity, loss of home and social status. Her position is far more difficult than it would have been in the old concubinage days, when the entrance of the concubine into the home would not have dimmed her glory as the first wife, nor jeopardized her economic welfare. In some cases where the family opposes the divorce and has wealth and influence, the college girl may become the second wife with a certain degree of recognized social position, since the marriage is based on intellectual equality, but without actual legal status, as the new law does not recognize the rights formerly accorded to a concubine. Few modern girls, however, accept this equivocal position. Still another solution, which marks a high measure of heroic altruism, is the educated woman's renunciation

of her own marriage desire, in order to spare the suffering of the old-fashioned wife. A career of creative service may offer her at least a partial substitute for marriage and her own home. Whatever may be the solution for this social problem, which is peculiar to the transition period, the burden of sacrifice must be borne inevitably by the Chinese woman, whether by the helpless unlettered wife of the older social order or by the clever educated young woman of the present day.

Marriage and home-building for the modern girl in the Orient today present not only new opportunities but new demands. Formerly, she entered married life under the guardianship of the mother-in-law. Today, she starts the adventure of home-making alone. The old technique demanded obedience and the suppression of all individuality; the new, requires initiative and self-assurance. Under the old régime the mother-in-law or some of the older members of the household assumed the care of the children. Today the young mother has this full responsibility and privilege. Furthermore, the training of children in a modern world makes greater demands than were made in the past. Mrs. Kohra, a professor of child psychology in the Japan Women's University, called attention to the possible loss to children in being brought up in the narrow limits of the modern home, unless the mother has an awareness of the relationship of the home and the community. The large family that is passing was in itself an organized community; the child grew up in an atmosphere of group relationship.

But perhaps the problem of the young married woman is of quite another character. The modern

young couple may not always have the opportunity of establishing an individual home but will have to live in the large family group. Between the young wife of modern education and the conservative older women of the household, a conflict of ideals is inevitable. There will be a difference of opinion on all subjects from the bathing of the baby to the relationship of husband and wife. The daily question is how much of the modern idea should be compromised. "I am the only one of four daughters-in-law, who has managed to maintain modern ideas. It was a daily struggle, at first, but now my mother-in-law has resigned herself to the idea that I am just different. The others began wrong and now they can't change," said an attractive young Chinese married woman, a graduate of Wellesley College, who carries on a very active community life without sacrificing her home and children. A young Japanese bride, also educated in America, and an experienced social worker, has solved the problem of adjustment quite differently—merely by eliminating it. With marriage she accepted the idea of complete conformity to the conventions of the old Japanese Samurai family which she has entered, and to the surprise of her friends has become a typical "Okusama." Some approve of the completely harmonious adjustment; others regret such conformity as being a retarding influence in general social advance.

These problems of adjustment in family relationship especially affect the student group, whether married or unmarried, who through a foreign type of education either at home or abroad have acquired a taste for a different standard of living. "We are more foreign than Chinese; this greatly limits our influence," a

Chinese graduate from Columbia confessed, "but I am trying to surround my children with more Chinese influence." In India, nationalism has had the effect of stemming the tide of Western influence and imitation. National pride has led to a reinstatement of Indian values and a more discriminating selection from the West. The process of Eastern adjustment to Western influences is most marked in Japan where the entire change has come within fifty years. The modern Japanese constantly shifts from East to West, leads daily two lives, continually choosing between two entirely different techniques—in clothes, in home-making and in social life. Two standards at present prevail but the modern idea is gaining ground.

The East presents, as we have seen, a bewildering complexity of social problems affecting the life of women, which are germane to a period of transition. They include the new opportunities and demands for careful guidance of adolescent girls; the moral uncertainty of youth and the tendency to extremes of social freedom; the lack of social experience and normal outlets; the problems involved in the marriage by choice instead of by arrangement; the difficult situation of the unmarried woman; the increased responsibility of young married women in home-building; the readjustment in family relationships between the old and the new ideals; and the constant selection and harmonization of Eastern and Western values in an evolving modern world.

Such an enumeration of social problems is overwhelming. Their solution seems to present an almost hopeless task. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that they are all alike immediate in their urgency and

are inter-related. But thoughtful social leaders in the Orient, although recognizing fully the problems, regard the situation hopefully. A certain amount of social loss is inevitable but the present extremes will find their level as the full tide of change recedes. Although the movement is very rapid for those who are in the center of the current, the broad stream of Oriental life is moving more slowly. The general environment exerts a normal check. The very inertia of the mass keeps the social current within safe channels. Moreover, there is an inner poise and stability in the East, especially in the character of women, the natural result of their past, which is not lost now that the center and context of their lives is changing.



Kobe College Builds a Strong Womanhood for the New Japan

CHAPTER III

The Renaissance in Education

The multitudinous problems that confront us every day must be solved not by men only but by women also, women whose intellect is quickened, whose interest in life's problems is genuine, and whose moral sense of responsibility is strong.

—Miss Ai Hoshino.¹

“IT is better for women that they should not be educated, because their lot throughout life must be in perfect obedience and the way to salvation is only through the path of the three obediences—obedience to a father when yet unmarried, to a husband when married, and to a son when widowed. What is the use of developing the mind of a woman when her life is to be guided at every step by a man? Yet it is highly important that she should be morally trained, so that she be always gentle and chaste, never giving way in passion inconvenient to others, nor questioning the authority of her elders.”¹ Such was the standard for the training of Japanese women through the feudal period—a standard which demanded high moral conduct but admitted only such limited education as would serve this end. This educational ideal for women was no less characteristic of Japan than of other parts of the Orient. Marriage was the only career for an Eastern girl, hence all training was focussed on teaching the arts of domesticity—to sew, spin and cook, serve her husband and make a home. Perhaps, if born of the higher class, she might have had some

¹ Miss Ai Hoshino, President of Tsuda College, *The Education of Women*. Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929.

training in culture and feminine grace under tutors in her own home; such as the charming glimpse given of a Chinese girl's life in the poem "The Peacock"—

"At thirteen I could weave silk
At fourteen I learned to cut out a garment
At fifteen I played Kung Hou²
At sixteen I finished the Books of Odes and other classics
At seventeen I married thee."³

This training in domesticity the girl in India received, for the most part, not from her mother, but her mother-in-law. Marriage afforded ample opportunity for moral discipline and training in domestic arts, but little provision for the education of the intellect. For an orthodox Hindu girl the saying from the law of Manu might have influenced the decision regarding her education: "To educate a woman and to give a sharp knife to a monkey is the same thing." For a Moslem in strict purdah, education was curtailed by the dictates of seclusion and the fear of the orthodox that for a woman to learn to read and write, especially the latter, might be dangerous; forsooth, it might lead to writing a love letter.

But today the laws of the Koran and the Code of Manu, Confucian teachings or the ideals of feudal Japan no longer determine a girl's education nor dictate the lack of it. The demands of a modern world have decreed that girls as well as boys should be edu-

² Kung Hou—a musical instrument.

³ Miss Pao Sweng Tseng, "The Chinese Woman Past and Present," *Symposium on Chinese Culture*. China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931.

cated. A renaissance of education for girls throughout the Orient is bringing them out of the home into the school. No longer is the Chinese proverb believed that "the ignorance of a woman is her virtue." The first two decades of the twentieth century have seen no more far-reaching or fundamental change than the growth in education for girls, without which social freedom is only an empty shibboleth. Education of women is the keystone to progress.

The dualism between an educated manhood and illiterate womanhood in the Orient has impeded all advance. The ignorant wife is a drag on society since woman, in spite of her social handicaps, has always controlled the home. One might suppose that men in India with Oxford or Cambridge degrees would have transformed the social conditions at least of their homes. But partly through the ever dominant influence of women, the guardians of conservatism, and partly through a *laissez-faire* attitude, which accepted the low status of women as inevitable, these highly educated Indian men have not eradicated social evils. Even ardent social reformers among men, eloquent on the platform in advocating the abolition of child marriage and purdah, in their own homes often have uneducated wives and daughters in strict purdah and perhaps even a child bride. The divorce between conviction and practice is most glaringly apparent in India but also constitutes a serious problem in China. This conflict, however, is now in process of solution. Education for women is recognized throughout Asia, not merely as the individual right of women, but as a national necessity conditioning future progress.

Signs of this renaissance in girls' education are every-

where apparent. Crowds of Chinese school girls of high school age are today coming from all over China to attend school in Peiping. What a striking contrast these throngs present to those two young Chinese girls, at the time of the Boxer rebellion, who were stopped by the police on their way from Liutsung Shantung to Peiping to attend school. It was impossible for the police to believe that these young girls, travelling in a wheelbarrow (at that time there were no roads) were really going to school. While a messenger was sent on to the mission school in Peiping to see whether there really was such a thing as a *school for girls* these two hopeful young students were detained. The urge for education in China is felt also often by young married women whose husbands have had educational opportunities which they have not been privileged to enjoy. In order to make up this disparity, these women attend universities—often at the expense of the father-in-law.

To realize that schools for girls are now universal in Japan one needs only see the hundreds of girls commuting daily on the trains between Yokohama and Tokyo, or Kobe and Osaka, or the crowds of girls from villages coming in on foot or by bicycle to the nearest large town. Long lines of Japanese school girls marching two by two on a day's excursion to some national shrine leave an indelible impression of the forward movement of education for girls in Japan.

In Lucknow, India, every morning and late afternoon one passes in the crowded streets, closely covered conveyances, oftentimes drawn by men, which are filled with little Mohammedan girls being carried to and from school. Follow them some morning and you will find, as they pass from the purdah carriage beyond the

curtained entrance of the school, that suddenly like butterflies from a cocoon they are all alive, throwing themselves into games with enthusiasm, daily thrilled with the great adventure of being educated. But even more eager to open the wonder-world of knowledge is the young Moslem woman thirty years old, who comes every day in her completely shrouded tonga to join the little children in the mission day school at Fategahr. So closely in purdah is she, that the tonga does not even stop at the gate but must drive clear inside the school compound where no man ever enters. Unashamed of her age, she pores over her A.B.C. Urdu book with the primary class. The desire for education has also passed behind the curtain to those who can not come out even in the covered carriage. One catches a glimpse of this in the eager request from the Mohammedan mother to her missionary friend to teach her daughter as much as possible before her impending marriage. She knew that later the conservative mother-in-law would forbid the bride even to open a book.

At the All-India Conference in Lahore, a young Hindu married woman from Ahmedabad gave a forceful speech on the need for a special woman's college in Gujerat. "In my opinion," her voice rang out distinctly, "there is a great necessity for higher education for women. The world is advancing and we must advance too." It was hard for the writer to recognize in the speaker the shy young bride that she had known fifteen years ago in Bombay, who at that time spoke English very haltingly and had a still unawakened child's mind.

In schools and in the home, education for girls, whether among Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists or Christians has now been accepted as urgently needed, and to

be desired. The argument has ceased as to whether girls should be educated; the question now is how the schools can be multiplied rapidly enough to meet the demand. This awakening of the desire for girls' education in the Orient is intimately related to the efforts of Christian missions. One cannot speak of growth in education for girls without thinking of missionary effort. Throughout Asia from Syria to Japan mission schools for girls, established a half century ago, were the pioneers breaking into the Eastern world with a new idea. Often these schools had a very simple beginning, a group of girls gathered in a missionary's home. From such humble origins have developed well-known schools for girls such as the Ferris Seminary in Yokohama, Japan. In the large cities, in small interior towns and in rural areas these mission schools were at first the only opportunity for girls, but inspired by mission example, private efforts and municipal government agencies have consistently promoted girls' schools especially since 1900.

In India and Burma education for girls in the last few decades has steadily advanced.

<i>Total Schools in India and Burma</i>	<i>Attendance of Girls</i>	
	1891-92	1926-27
Primary	270,802	1,549,281
Secondary	35,242	185,147
Teacher Training	821	5,054
Universities	45	1,933

In India only one out of 10 girls of school age attend school, two-thirds of whom attend only for one year. By grades the ratio of attendance is 4 times as

many boys as girls in primary classes, 18 in middle school, 34 in higher middle and 33 in college.

<i>Total Schools in India and Burma</i>	<i>Per Cent of Increase from 1922-1927</i>	
	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>
Primary	17	25
Middle School	15	35
High School	16	39
Colleges	35	101
Teacher Training	99	12 ⁴

But there is still a great disparity between the education of boys and girls. This is reflected in the literacy of men and women (1921 Census, in India, male literacy 10.7%, female, 1.8%; and in Burma, male literacy 44.8%, female 9.7%). For China complete statistics are not available but it is estimated that 37,000,000 children of school age can neither read nor write and only one-half as many girls as boys are in the higher elementary grades. Since the revolution of 1911, however, education for girls has been definitely included in the national program on a basis of equality with boys.⁵

In Japan the educational progress of the last fifty years has been phenomenal, as shown by the high percentage of school children of school age; by the practical equality of the ratio of boys and girls in school (school attendance: boys, 99.49%; girls, 99.43%); and by the almost universal literacy and the increase in

⁴ R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II, p. 212 and Vol. I, p. 158.

Review of the Growth of Education in British India, Ch. VI. Hartog Report, 1929.

⁵ "Education," *Fact Finders Report on China for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry* (unpublished), pp. 448 and 513, 1931.

girls' schools. The first mission girls' school, which later developed into a high school (the Ferris Seminary), was opened in 1870; the first government girls' school in 1872; and the term Jo Gakko (high school) first used in 1882.

The growth of Christian and Government girls' schools since 1872 is as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Government Schools</i>	<i>No. of Christian Schools</i>
1872	1	2
1897	20	47
1907	108	46
	After the Russo-Japanese War.	
1928	580	50 ⁶

In the bare statistics of growth one can visualize a reading public of men and women all over Japan.

Higher education for women in the Orient is still in the pioneering stage but is beginning to show an upward trend. As in the field of secondary education, missionary effort has led the way in demonstrating the value of college training for women. From the Christian colleges in the Orient have come the women leaders of the present, the numerically small but very powerful minority, which is shaping the women's movement in the East. In addition to the separate women's colleges, coeducation is gaining ground. In India a number of Christian colleges for men, a number of other private agencies, and some of the government universities now admit women. Coeducation un-

⁶ *Christian Education in Japan*, p. 83. International Missionary Council, 1932.

Western Influences in Japan, p. 8. The Japanese Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929.

Kobe College Statistics, Dec., 1931.



A Double Task, the Lot of Many Chinese Women

questionably has a great value in producing a more liberal and normal social atmosphere. The distinct correlation between social freedom of women and coeducation is well illustrated by the advanced educational and social position of women in the Bombay Presidency, where higher education has been developed only through coeducational institutions. Since equality of educational privilege is stated as an inherent principle of the national constitution in China, coeducation has been endorsed and is definitely promoted. All universities are now automatically open to women; both government and mission colleges. The woman's college in China has never been, as in India, necessitated by restrictive social customs, although in the past, conservative opinion distinctly favored separate institutions for men and women. In China, as in America, the woman's college, although not required by social custom, and the coeducational institution can each make a distinctive contribution to higher education for women.

In Japan, a Western observer is surprised to find that higher education for women has received practically no attention from the government. Two mission colleges, Tokyo Joshi Dai Gaku (Woman's Christian College of Japan) and Kobe College, therefore, represent a distinctive frontier service in providing higher education for women and establishing future standards. Three other colleges under private auspices; Tsuda College, The Japan Women's University and the Woman's Medical College, all founded in the present century, have exerted a widespread influence on the development of Japanese women. Of the men's institutions, Doshisha University in Kyoto, Aoyama Gakuin

in Toyko and three Imperial Universities admit women.

A day spent in any one of the women's colleges in the East, whether in Madras or Nanking, Seoul or Tokyo, leaves the vivid impression of the keen response of Oriental girls to a college education. If you are fortunate in having the opportunity of talking with some of these college girls, you will find an eager and thoughtful attitude toward the changing world in which they live, and a definite sense of purpose. What Miss Alice Appenzeller, President of Ewha College in Seoul, wrote of one of the Korean students might have been written of many other college girls in the Orient, "Her keen mind fed eagerly upon the riches of the college course." In no small measure the intensity of purpose and serious attitude of these Oriental women students of today is caused by their concern for the future of college education for women. "If we fail, it is not regarded as merely the failure of an individual but a proof that women as a whole are unfit for higher education," said an attractive woman student in a co-educational medical college in India. On their mettle to prove the intellectual ability of women, Eastern college girls have demonstrated not only their equal capacity but have often excelled the men students, who have less at stake and put forth less intense effort.

Although the high seriousness of a definite goal to be reached through college is the dominant tone in the atmosphere of these women's colleges, the play spirit is not lacking. This differentiates them from the government institutions, which offer only academic training and no outlets for care-free recreation. On "Play Day" at the Woman's Christian College in Tokyo, you

might easily believe that you were watching sports at Wellesley or Vassar. The eager alertness, enthusiasm and skill in games and the gay, abandoned spirit of thorough enjoyment of the whole college group give a glimpse of the well-rounded development of the students in these Eastern colleges. Sometimes the "Play Day" may be more distinctly Oriental in character; as, for example, the charming spring fete Basanth at Kin-naird College in Lahore, at which all the girls wear yellow saris, decorate the college with yellow flowers and have their special feast of yellow rice—a fitting color for the season, as the fields are gay with flowers of the mustard plant.

The keen enjoyment of recreation now characteristic of Eastern college girls is in itself an evidence of change. Mrs. Lin, a graduate of the Wellesley School of Hygiene, one of the first Chinese physical directors, describes the reaction of girls in 1923 in the Y.W.C.A. Physical Education School in Shanghai. "They sat down for their dumbbell drills and gymnastics. Later all went in for folk dancing; then they became interested in aesthetic dancing, and now are keen on field and track work and the more natural types of expression. A similar comment is made on the changing attitude of Korean girls toward recreation. A very few years ago the Ewha College girls had to be almost forced to play a few mild, very lady-like games during the required school gymnasium period and were ashamed to be seen running and jumping. Now they enjoy all types of sports, even mountain hikes, which in the past were physically impossible.

These Eastern college girls with their new enthusiasm for recreation and their deep seriousness are a

select group, only a slender minority of the great number of girls whose education ends with the high school. Attending college in the Orient is, by no means, the automatic process which it sometimes seems to be in America. It still represents to a certain extent crossing a frontier, but the number of college women students grows each year. The increase during the last few decades is striking; twenty years ago there were fewer than 300 college graduates in India; today there are nearly 3,000. In the Punjab the first B.A. degree was granted to a woman a decade ago; since then over a hundred women have received the degree—an increase of special significance, since the Punjab is a very conservative and purdah-bound province.⁷ Since the new nationalist régime the number of women entering college in China has shown a marked upward trend; Christian colleges and universities show an increase of women students from 115 in 1920 to 788 in 1930.⁸ The present actual numerical increase of women in college in Japan does not measure the real extent of interest, as economic depression, one is told repeatedly, cuts deeply into the college prospects both of men and women, especially the latter. On the other hand economic necessity demands that women as well as men be well trained in order that they may be able to compete in earning a livelihood. This tends steadily to put a higher value on college education.

Not only the task of increasing the facilities for girls' education through all its stages from the elementary

⁷ *Fact Finders Report on India for the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry*, p. 549 (unpublished).

⁸ *The Fact Finders Report on China for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry*, "Education," p. 488 (unpublished).

school through the college, but also the problem of the type of education needed now seriously engages the attention of educators in the Orient. What should education give in order to prepare girls for modern life in the East? In all three countries educators realize the need for analyzing the situation and determining more carefully the direction of a girls' education in terms of her life situation. Emerging from this careful consideration a number of new emphases are receiving attention. It is evident that two main types of training are required—the academic education for girls who will enter college and for the most part prepare for professional careers; and the training for practical life for the large number of high school girls, at least seventy-five per cent, who will not enter college.

For this latter group the present content of girls' education offers too little specialized training. As yet there has been no careful study made of the vocational field for girls and women and very little special attention to vocational guidance either in China or India. In Japan these needs are now recognized by the government educational department. As home life is shifting to a more modern base the preparation for home-making presents a very interesting but very complex problem in the education of girls. Living standards are in the process of change in which Eastern and Western ideas are being fused. This problem is especially acute in Japan. In order to familiarize girls with Western ideas Japanese schools use not only the regular domestic science course, but often the school excursion. Sitting in the lobby of the Imperial Hotel, one sometimes sees a crowd of Japanese school girls being shown around by the manager. It looks like a typical

sight-seeing party, but in reality, is a part of the well-ordered educational program of schools to teach through the school excursion. An opportunity to see the Imperial Hotel is utilized as a means of demonstrating an up-to-date hotel on Western lines.

In the opinion of those who are closely in touch with college life there is a great undercurrent of unrest among students everywhere throughout the East, although varying in intensity in different places. Women students are much more deeply influenced by these new currents of thought than is apparent. A principal in a girls' high school in Japan expressed the opinion that "it is hard to estimate the extent of the influence of Marxism on girls, since they are still very much under the traditional inhibitions before men and are too polite to ask questions or suggest opposing opinions. But they seem much more passive and docile than they really are. Usually the most intellectual students are most deeply affected." This restlessness among students may be expressed in student strikes, little known in the West but a common occurrence in some parts of the Orient, by secret suppressed interest in forbidden subjects like Communism, or in merely a vague uncertainty and questioning attitude toward life and a desire for a broader horizon. In whatever form it may find an outlet, this restless dissatisfaction with existing conditions is an expression of the urge for more freedom of thought. In the majority of schools civic consciousness is not inculcated, partly because of a laissez-faire attitude, and partly because of real handicaps in Government regulations which prescribe an overburdened academic course leaving little scope for the free play of originality, and which in some countries exert

a repressive influence against free discussion of modern problems.

But at the present time ways are being sought to relax the rigid uniformity of control and allow full scope for more creative educational influence. A few private schools such as Jiyu Gakuin in Tokyo under Mrs. Motoko Hani have been founded on free experimental lines, entirely independent of the regulated system. But the vast majority interpret their greatest usefulness as being within the government system and hence must seek to introduce more originality into the established lines of education. The most hopeful feature of the educational problem is the fact that the desire for change is already felt in different countries in the government educational system itself. As a Buddhist professor from the Nara Higher Normal School for girls in Nara, Japan said, "A new philosophy of education is needed which will emphasize, not merely mental but moral cultivation, education through action and doing rather than through acquiring facts. The old philosophy has served very well through the period of mass production. In order to lift the educational level of the whole nation, absolute standardization was necessary at that stage. Individualism would have hindered growth. But today further progress requires the more creative development of the individual. Experimentation will be difficult since change in a standardized system can only be effected slowly. Private schools with greater freedom than government schools should lead the way in developing this new educational philosophy." This expression of the necessity for experimentation in educational methods is representative of the need felt in India and China as well as in Japan.

In the development of education along the lines of modern thought, the group of returned students in each country constitute a most important factor. The returned student group in Japan has grown steadily since the five little Japanese girls left Tokyo in 1872 for America "to see for themselves how, in the lands they visited, women receive their education and bring up their children." On this first group was Miss Ume Tsuda, the founder of the splendid Tsuda College. China has yearly its large number of women students abroad through the Boxer Indemnity Fund and also through private initiative. With the English language as the base of education in India, and English education the open sesame for advance in all lines, it is logical that England has been the goal for Indian students, although there is always a small number in America. Through various fellowships, such as the Barbour Fellowships for Ann Arbor, and through the financial aid of private individuals, the increase in the number of Oriental students studying in America has been greatly facilitated. Many students also through their own personal efforts and sacrifice have sought the opportunity of Western education.

Not only as specialists trained in modern methods for various professional pursuits but as interpreters of Western culture and ideals, these students bring new currents into the broad stream of Eastern thought. They have the heavy responsibility of proving that their education is a gain not a loss to the Orient. As their period of preparation ends and their active life service begins, these students, trained in modern thought, are a great potential asset and likewise a great potential liability. In bringing to the East an under-

standing of the West, they must not lose the full appreciation of their own inheritance. Their range of influence and their service to their own countries will depend on whether they can successfully fuse the assets of the West with the rich culture of the East. In the present period of social transformation this is the basic problem of Eastern women. To bring harmony into the conflicting claims of an old heritage with priceless values and a new freedom with unexplored possibilities should be the goal of the new education.

CHAPTER IV

The Development of Economic Independence

Women who have the freedom that comes with economic independence are in a position to help more effectively in the building up of the nation.

—Miss Shu-Ching Ting, *China Year Book*, 1929.

IN the East as in the West economic and social conditions affecting women are closely related. Change in one area of a woman's life can not take place without producing change in all of her relationships. In this interplay of forces it is difficult to disentangle the finely woven threads of cause and effect. The sequence is not always uniform, as economic changes often condition social change while, in some cases, the process is the reverse. Education aids in general progress and is itself promoted by the general social advance. The different countries of the Orient offer interesting illustrations of this varying relationship of cause and effect.

The initial and final impression of Japanese women is that they are participating as widely and as freely in the business of earning a livelihood as women in any other country today. In busses, department stores, offices, airplanes, steamships service, ticket booths, restaurants, in theatres, on the stage and screen, over the radio, at gas filling stations, in domestic service, in schools and hospitals, in modern factories and small handicraft shops, and in the field doing a man's work but carrying a woman's burden—everywhere women and girls are playing an important role in the business of life.

In the range of types of employment and numbers employed women constitute a great national asset. According to the 1920 census (the figures of the last census are not yet available) thirty-two per cent of the women of Japan (8,960,000 out of a total of 28,000,000) were in some sort of gainful employment. The largest proportion is in their own homes or in agricultural work, the traditional form of labor in which women have always been economic assets. In all of the varied types of employment connected with the business world, such as offices, banks, shops and amusements, the number of women has been rapidly increasing, as the aftermath of prosperity following the World War has multiplied such opportunities. In the professional field women have long been engaged as teachers, nurses and medical workers of various kinds. Most of these have been in the middle or lower ranges of the profession, not occupying positions as heads of schools or as fully recognized doctors. Competition of women with men in the teaching profession is increasing due to the over-supply of college men students seeking "high collar" employment. The high educational average of women in Japan has been the determining factor which has made possible their rapid occupation of many economic fields. When the opportunity for women in economic pursuits came in the post-war period of prosperity, they were educationally prepared. Similarly in the present period of economic depression, women have been able to assume greater financial responsibilities.

The remarkable industrialization of Japan has been effected to a great extent by women's labor. Their emergence into industry has been a steady process

since Japan turned westward. The total number of women in industry (1,436,303) represents sixty per cent of all industrial workers; eighty per cent of all textile workers are women. This gives the bare statistical view of the importance of Japanese women in industry. The most significant fact is the over-whelming proportion of young girls, drawn mostly from rural areas. Ninety per cent of women industrial workers are unmarried.¹

When Japan began her rapid industrial development, an abundant supply of cheap labor was needed; hence the steady flow of farm girls into the large factory towns. Recruiting these country girls is carried on in wholesale fashion by men and women, 30,000 or more, scattered all over Japan, who eagerly scan the villages for promising material. They gather the girls together, as soon as the primary school requirements are finished, and take them to the factory centers. Housed with hundreds of other girls in dormitories on the factory premises maintained by the company, these young country workers now become a cog in the great industrial machine of Japan. Spending ten or eleven hours a day in the factory, the rest of the time in the dormitory, they live entirely under factory control. Often the grounds are locked. Girls are rarely allowed to leave. After a year many return to their villages, perhaps broken in health. Some are married; some return to the factory. The majority only work two or three years. Thus the process goes on. Yearly new girls are

¹ J. Asari (Director of the Tokyo Office of the International Labor Office), "Statistics on Industry in Japan." Japan Council in the Institute of Pacific Relations. Kyoto; 1927. These statistics do not include home industries.

fed into the industrial machine to replace those who return to the farm.

This migration of labor accomplishes its results in turning the wheels of industry, but it often leaves its harmful mark on the village. The general result of factory life is said to be weakened constitutions of girls, decrease in the number of children, and often times bad moral results. It is said that "the girls corrupt their village."² Although the farmers do not like the "spoiling of their daughters," in their poverty they can not refuse the financial aid. Recently in the economic depression, the failure of factories to pay wages in arrears for several years has brought dire distress to many a rural home. The dormitory system is the pivotal factor in the industrial situation, obviously a necessity with a labor supply of young girls, and also obviously a chance for serious abuse and exploitation. Although the living conditions are probably not worse than those in the village home from which the girls come, the moral effects of such rigid surveillance may be seriously questioned.

As a result of the constant migration of labor the women workers in the factory and on the farm are bound closely together. The boycott in China affects tomorrow's rice in the village home, as the daughter in the factory may lose her job. The industrial worker today may be the farm worker tomorrow. The problems of industry are the problems of rural life. The present economic crisis in Japan, as elsewhere, has fallen heavily on women and children in villages. In some areas, it is said, many farmers facing dire poverty have made contracts for their daughters with some brothel keeper

² Robertson Scott, *The Foundation of Japan*, Ch. XVIII.

from Tokyo or Osaka, the price in each case being determined by the girl's youth and beauty. The economic burden of rural life as elsewhere in the Orient is always shared by Japanese women and girls. In ceaseless toil in their homes and in the fields they are an important asset, contributing to the family support but not receiving independent wages.

Judging by the fact that Japanese women are everywhere in evidence earning a livelihood, the economic independence of women seems to be an accomplished fact, but this is not the case. Although an increasing number are wage-earners, many are not independent wage-spenders. Most women earning their livelihood have no control over their money. The farm girl in the factory sends her wages home (except for a small allowance for personal expenditure); the Tokyo typist usually turns her money back to the family purse; even many teachers do not control their earnings. Although the family system is changing, the economic unity of the home is still strong. The girl, as part of the family group, aids in its support and falls back on it for support if necessary—a fact which employers often exploit. The wages are not based on a living wage, but are merely supplementary earnings. This keeps the girl who is working for her livelihood still dependent on the family. Moreover, economic independence is defeated by the fundamental inequalities of the law, unequal inheritance, lack of full property rights and of independent income. But women wage-earners are the entering wedge in bringing complete economic independence.

In striking contrast to Japan, the change in the economic position of women in India is taking place much

more slowly than that in their social status. Economic independence follows rather than precedes the social freedom of Indian women. Tradition has until recently deterred them from leaving the home to hold public positions. Economic necessity has scarcely begun to have any influence in forcing women to enter wage earning pursuits. Accordingly, there has not been that marked expansion of public participation in economic life of women in India that one sees in Japan. But due to the general pressure of social change, the attitude toward women in employment is steadily changing. The National Movement, the dominant force producing social freedom, is also a potent factor in leading women toward economic independence.

The present economic contribution of Indian women to the family and to the nation can be inferred from the extent of their employment. Including all types of work, they constitute about one-third (31.3%) of the total number of workers in India. This same proportion holds true for industrial and agricultural labor. A very much smaller proportion, roughly one-sixth, is engaged in the professions and liberal arts.³

It is an interesting fact that the social handicaps of Indian women were the open door into the professions; such as teaching, medicine and nursing. The prevailing idea of the segregation of women barred men teachers from girls' schools and men doctors from the medical care of women. Hence women teachers, doctors and nurses found an unoccupied field and today they still have a more abundant opportunity for advance than women have in Japan, where men have

³ *Statistical Abstract of British India*. 1918-19 to 1927-28, pp. 36 and 686.

not been prevented by social tradition from preempting the higher positions. The profession of teaching has claimed and still claims the majority of educated Indian women who have entered careers.⁴ The field of medicine and health is steadily attracting more women. Very few have entered law; in 1931 only nine women in India were studying law. A high standard for women in this profession has been set by Miss Cornelia Sorabji. Social and industrial welfare is opening new opportunities; but as yet there are only a handful of trained workers in these lines in all India.

With the development of Indian film companies a recognized profession is being opened by the cinema. Men hold the monopoly on stenographic positions and general salesmanship but here and there slight trends of change are evident, showing that women are beginning to venture into new business fields; for example there are a few agents for sewing machines, for zenanas, a number of promoters of Swadeshi (Indian industry) canvassing from house to house or selling in shops, two Parsi sisters directing a Ladies' Department in a Bombay bank, a photographer in Madras, and a life insurance agent in Lahore. These isolated instances are significant because of their pioneering character.

To appreciate the marked difference between the

⁴ A graduate study of Mission Colleges shows 529 teachers out of 651 graduates in professional careers. "Study of Women Graduates of Mission Colleges," *Fact Finders Report on India for the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry* (unpublished) 1931.

In 1931, 5,126 women students in India were preparing for teaching. R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II, p. 212.

The 1921 census shows 35,845 teachers. For every 100 girls of school age there is only one woman teacher (most girls' primary schools are taught by men). In 1926 there were only 100 women inspectors to cover 28,000 schools in over a million square miles or 280 institutions and 10,000 square miles for each teacher. Ibid. Vol. 1, pp. 157-158.

development of women in industry in India and Japan, you need only watch the throng of workers passing out of one of the great mills in Sholapur, India, at evening. You see first the picturesque crowd of Indian women, clad in their saris, carrying their lunch cans, many a one with a baby astride her hip. They hurry home to cook the evening meal. Some will have to walk quite a distance to their simple homes; many will go to the nearby chawls, or tenement lines of dwellings, provided by the factory. For all, the day still holds at least two hours of labor. Fifteen minutes later, well after the last woman's figure has faded into the smoky twilight haze, the mill gates, barred after the women have passed through, are flung open again to let the horde of men, impatient with waiting, burst forth en masse and surge homeward down the dusty road, an indistinct throng of white figures in Gandhi caps and loin cloths or dhotis. This "staggering" of labor hours is hardly due to traffic needs on the broad Indian roadway, such as a Western city might demand, but is dictated by the prevailing demands of social customs, which prevent the intermingling of men and women in industry. They work apart and leave the factory separately to avoid indiscriminate contact. In Sholapur, and elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency, social conservatism and custom has not deterred women from entering industry but has exerted its influence in determining conditions. In places where purdah prevails, it has debarred from industrial labor many women, especially Mohammedans, except old women and widows.

The idea of seclusion in India has operated as a whole to give industrial employment for women a cer-

tain social stigma. The great masses have not changed their idea, that a woman's place is in the home. Only dire necessity drives a woman of the lower middle class out of her home. And then she will work only with women or perhaps with men of her own family. Women in industry are for the most part married since the unmarried girl over twelve years of age is very rare indeed. True to the old concept of marriage they bear many children. These mothers with their babies constitute a problem which scarcely exists in Japan. What is to be done with the children during the long working hours? In the better type of mills the creche or day nursery, provided by the factory or by some social service organization like the Seva Sadan, will care for the child. But the smaller factories make no such provision. The mother must, therefore, leave the child at home uncared for or bring him to the factory. This is forbidden but many escape detection. Often a movement in a gunny sack by the worker's side in one of the smaller factories betrays the presence of the latest born child, doped with opium and therefore sleeping all day, not interfering with the mother's work. This is a typical case, as it is estimated that ninety-eight per cent of the children of industrial workers are constantly drugged whether at home or in the factory.⁵ To enforce the Exclusion Act, which prohibits bringing children to the factory means practically forcing women out of employment.

Living and working conditions of women workers in India present problems of family care, very different from the dormitory problem of the individual worker

⁵ Mrs. Vera Anstey, *Economic Development of India*. p. 90. Longmans, Green & Company, New York; 1929.

of Japan. The great majority lives in unsanitary, fearfully crowded hovels, "little more than sheds, which they often share with cattle," or in the great industrial centers, in one room with several other families.⁶ According to an official investigation in 1921-22, ninety-seven per cent of the industrial workers in Bombay at that time were living with six to nine persons in one room. Women and children suffer most as the men can always sleep outside on the streets. Working conditions in regulated industries meet certain basic needs of light and air; in unregulated industries the unsanitary conditions are often appalling. Lack of latrines suitable for women is common. The atmosphere choked with dust and laden with fluff in many of the smaller cotton factories exacts a heavy toll on the lives of women and children.

The skilled woman worker in India constitutes only twenty per cent of the total number of textile workers,⁷ in direct contrast to the women textile workers in Japan who form eighty per cent of the total.⁸ In varying proportion Indian women are found in all forms of unskilled labor; as coolies in the building trades, in road building, quarries, mines, jute factories and as seasonal workers in cotton ginning, wool picking and cleaning. Aside from factory work women carry on many types of home industries such as spinning cotton, basket weaving and lace work.

Whereas women in industry of all types represent a small percentage of the total female population of

⁶ *Answers to Questionnaire on Conditions of Women in Industry in India*, National Council of Women 1930.

⁷ *Statistical Abstract for British India*, p. 680.

⁸ J. Asari, "Statistics on Industry in Japan." Tokyo Office of International Labor Office.

British India, only about five million out of one hundred and twenty million,⁹ the number of rural workers looms very large. India's rural population, seventy-three per cent of the total, is supported by agriculture,¹⁰ and approximately half of these are women. Of these the majority are engaged in the constant labor of rural life. Village women rarely receive separate wages although they earn a considerable part of the family income. Illiterate, underprivileged, hard working Indian women are a most important asset in rural life. They may be also an economic liability as they control in no small measure the family expenditure. The expenses of betrothals, weddings and funerals are all under their jurisdiction. These occasions may be the cause of sinking the family into debts that only a lifetime of labor will repay.

In striking contrast to the slowly developing economic independence of women in India is the economic equality of women in Burma. Without any of the social handicaps of India, Burman women have always been a dominating economic factor. They carry on the petty trading, manage shops in bazars and temple grounds, drive sharper bargains and are more industrious than men. Since they earn a large part of the family income, they control the family purse. Practically all Burman women, except those of wealth, whether married or unmarried, have some occupation.

The emergence of women in China into economic participation, as in India, has been a natural part of the

⁹ Industry includes village industries, handicrafts, workshops, and plantations. *Statistical Abstract for British India*; 1918-19 to 1927-28, p. 36.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 37.

general process of widespread social change. As a result of the breaking of social traditions, girls and women now have a widening field for their activities and are moving toward economic independence. Although Chinese women have not been restricted by social customs comparable to the handicaps of India, the binding force of the joint family has kept them in economic dependence. The Nationalist Movement, as in India, has been the motivating force which has given women the present impetus to advance. Their economic progress follows the same general lines of India and also offers a contrast in many respects to the development of women in Japan. The very high illiteracy of the masses and the very small minority of educated Chinese women are the main conditioning factors of their economic life.

In the educated minority, as elsewhere in the Orient, there is definitely a movement toward earning a livelihood, a great change from the days which an early missionary recalls, fifteen years ago, when a woman of the better class would scarcely light her own pipe and had always a slave girl in attendance. Because of this movement toward economic independence, there is a marked change in the attitude of the parents and the public. "We wanted a boy that would help us when he is grown up! Why was she born an unuseful girl?" formerly a characteristic expression of a Chinese mother, is ceasing to be typical. Not only the parents but the husbands appreciate the fact that women are economic assets. Education is recognized as of special economic value for women. Sometimes, especially in North China, women not only supplement the family income but contribute more than their husbands. Oc-

casionally a man and his wife may teach in the same school. The attitude toward married women in employment both in China and India is very favorable. An interesting fact in this connection is that married women often keep their own names. Their entrance into the economic field has caused no conflict as is often the case in the West. This difference is doubtless due to the paucity of trained Eastern Women and the need for them. "It is freely recognized," said Lo Wen Kan, the Foreign Minister of China, in a private interview in Nanking, "that men are no longer able to provide fully for the family. Women must become economically independent, just as in Rome, the old ideas of *familias potestas* passed and individuals became self-reliant under economic pressure."

Of women in professional life, teachers represent the largest number; the majority of these has been trained in mission schools. In the medical profession Chinese women have enjoyed large opportunities and full equality with men. The legal profession has as yet only a few women. These have, however, ably demonstrated the fact that Chinese women have the capacity to become successful lawyers. Social and industrial welfare work is a field of special promise for well-educated women, as the need for welfare is beginning to be realized and the enforcement of social legislation will undoubtedly require women personnel. The government has already had training courses preparing a few women with a larger number of men. The stage is being invaded by actresses, who are, however, unable as yet to compete effectively against the consummate art of the great Chinese male impersonators of women's roles.

In the general business world women have only recently begun to find their place. Throughout China, as a rule, men occupy the positions as clerks in stores but in Tientsin and Shanghai, both Chinese and foreign stores have begun to employ many salesgirls. Women have also initiated a certain number of independent business enterprises, such as restaurants and stores; and in Shanghai a Woman's Bank. Except in the larger cities there are few women in general clerical positions. But when you see the number of women clerks, typists, and stenographers in departments of the National Government and in other posts in Nanking, you realize the impetus which the government policy of equality is giving to women to enter the clerical field. There is today no limitation of opportunity but of preparation.

The development of large power industries in China has naturally increased the number of women industrial workers; in Shanghai women constitute 58.7 per cent of all factory workers, in Wusih in 45 silk filatures, about 90 per cent, and in Tientsin cotton mills 20 per cent.¹¹ Industrialization is not yet a predominant feature of national life as a whole. There are only half a dozen large industrial centers, hence women in industry are only a small proportion of the total number of women workers.

The Chinese industrial women are more individual in type than the Japanese and seem free and full of

¹¹ Simon Yang and L. K. Tao, *A Study of the Standard of Living of Working Families in Shanghai*. Institute of Social Research, Peiping; 1931.

T'ao Ling and Lydia Johnson (Industrial secretaries of the Y.W.C.A.), *A Study of the Working Conditions of Women and Girls in Tientsin*. Peking Leader Press; 1928. Reprint no. 40.

vitality at the end of a long working day in comparison with the Indian women. From their general appearance you might not class them as industrial workers. Many have family cares, however, and no problem of leisure time after working hours, such as that which is a serious concern for Japanese factory owners, because of the large number of young girls. The proportion of young workers in China is less than in Japan but much higher than in India. It is estimated that about fifty per cent of the Chinese workers are married. While many of these girls are recruited from the village by middlemen, thus breaking up the ancestral home, there is not the constant turnover of rural labor in factories as in Japan. The Chinese farm girl entering industry is often married within a year or so and continues in the factory. The girls live with their friends or families and are not housed in dormitories operated by the company, except in some factories in Wusih and Shanghai. Here the dormitories are usually occupied by whole families. Hence the dormitory system in China does not have the disadvantages characteristic of Japan.

In the rural life of women in China, as in India and Japan, there has been little change. They have always worked, doubtless as they do today, and have always been an economic asset, not earning individually but adding to the family income. And as elsewhere in the Orient, the Chinese peasant woman illustrates the equality of labor but the inequality of burden. She bears the double load, working like a man but with her baby tied securely on her back. In South China peasant women are more in evidence working side by side with men; in the north, in less conspicuous work, they contribute no less effectively to the family livelihood.

Within the last decade, partly due to the International Conference at Washington on labor conditions and also to the close contact with the International Labor Office in Geneva, the countries of the Orient have moved forward in industrial legislation. India, China, and Japan have passed regulations against the employment of women and children in night work and underground work in mines (the latter regulation to be effective within a certain period) and in dangerous processes; and have set a minimum age for child labor (twelve in India, fourteen in China and Japan). China and Japan have adopted Maternity Benefit Acts, several provinces in India have such protective measures but there is no All-India Maternity Legislation. China has adopted an eight-hour day and equality of wages for women with men, based on equal work and efficiency. Obviously such advance legislation may not be immediately enforced but it establishes the principle of industrial legislation and gives the basis of a new economic freedom for industrial women.

Throughout the Orient there is a great need for women factory inspectors and women workers trained for industrial welfare and research in order that the interests of women in industry may receive more consideration. The general public has not yet been awakened to a consciousness of labor problems. But women leaders of the East are beginning to be aware of their responsibility and are advocating reforms for the amelioration of industrial conditions affecting women and children.

CHAPTER V

The Movement Toward a Higher Level of Health

We seek health not for health's sake, but for the sake of being useful in the world.

—Y. L. Mei, *China Year Book*.

TO the traveller in the Orient the changes in the physical environment of women are not as immediately apparent as the transformation taking place in their social, economic and educational status. The initial and final impression of the East is that life, particularly the life of women and children, is lived on a low physical level. Infant and maternal mortality is high; medical care, undervalued; trained medical personnel, tragically inadequate; ignorance and superstition, a terrible barrier to health and well-being; primitive midwifery, a menace; sanitation and disease prevention, unknown or neglected; social customs, a handicap to physical development; and poverty and the constant pressure of over-population, a continual drain on life. The indictment of health conditions of the Orient is long and the evidence statistically supported is irrefutable. The heavy toll of death and disease has been counted by millions, not by thousands. All of these health handicaps and evils have especially deleterious effects on the lives of women and children.

In India ignorance, common to the masses in other countries, has had the allies of child marriage and purdah, both of which have militated against physical strength and well-being. How great their baneful ef-

fect has been on health, medical authorities cannot accurately evaluate since Indian society has been under-shot with their influence. But repeatedly, one hears or reads a statement like this by Doctor Kathleen Olga Vaughan, which is based on long practise in Kashmir, where the population is predominantly Moslem, "It is necessary to point out to those in authority that the present working of the purdah system, by depriving the girls and women of sunlight, is directly responsible for the production of osteomalacia, gross pelvic deformity and the death of thousands of mothers and children in childbirth annually."¹ One hears also the repeated assertion that the chief cause of the high infant mortality rate in India² (one-fifth of the children die before one year and half the children before five years of age) is early marriage and consequent childbirth before the mother is physically mature. In China ignorance and superstition, combined with unsanitary midwifery, have exerted their powerful influence in defeating health. Foot-binding has had its crippling and otherwise deleterious effects; tuberculosis of the feet is stated as very common in some areas. Japan with its high general educational level is in a different category from India and China but has also its peculiar health problems affecting women. Housing conditions, the unhealthful way of heating by the hibachi (char-

¹ Dr. Kathleen Olga Vaughan, *The Purdah System and its Effect on Motherhood*, p. 38.

² In 1928, infant mortality in India was 172.94 per 1,000 births. *Report of the Public Health Commissioner* for the Government of India, 1928.

The Maternal Mortality, Dr. Balfour of the Heffkine Institute in Bombay estimates at 100,000 annually. "Maternity and Child Welfare." *Antiseptic*, April, 1929.

coal box), and inadequate nourishment registered their results in the debility of mothers and their children. The wearing of heavy clothing, carrying children on the back, the constant sitting on the floor and the habitual stooping-forward posture are all said to have retarded the physical development of women.

These health problems of women in the Orient, viewed en masse, seem to be hopeless. But if you talk to a missionary who has lived long in the East, you will learn that there are definite signs of advance. One of the most important is the spread of medical and health agencies in the Orient. Christian missions have been a dominant factor in bringing this to pass. The chain of mission hospitals which stretches from Bombay to Tokyo has furnished the initial example and inspiration for the many government and private hospitals which have followed.

In India the growth of zenana hospitals has been continuous since the first woman's hospital was opened by the Methodist mission in Bareilly in 1875. Without these special women's hospitals, millions of Indian women who could not see male doctors, would never have received medical treatment. Aside from the increase in hospital care for women, there has been a wide-spread development of official and private medical agencies and health welfare organizations to train midwives and public health visitors and to establish health centers for women and children. A significant development of the last decade is the National Movement of Health and Baby Weeks. The interest shown by Indian women and the effective cooperation of missionary and Indian effort in various lines of health promotion are worthy of mention.

In all of these channels of service there is a growing emphasis on a more constructive health program than merely remedial measures. Health education for women through clubs and conferences and for children through schools is receiving attention. To the schools especially, educators, medical authorities and public health specialists are devoting attention in the realization that the school program must be the foundation for permanent improvement of health conditions. In addition to the regular school physical education program, the Girl Guides and the Y.W.C.A. sports tournaments and teacher-training classes are exerting a beneficial health influence. Among Indian women's groups there is an eager response to health education. The writer remembers with pleasure a purdah club party given by the Begum of Bhopal, where a very colorful old Mohammedan lady in brilliant magenta silk pyjamas and a loose purple shirt kept pushing back her chadar to display, as eagerly as a child, her string of shining medals, the prizes she had won in different courses in Home Hygiene and First Aid under the St. John's Ambulance Association.

One of the most hopeful signs of advance in India is the steady growth in the number of women medical and health workers. A comparative study of the increase in the number of women medical students in India and Burma shows over five times as many in 1929 as in 1891 (from 116 to 683).³ In 1928-29 the women medical students were 8% of the total number of medical students (683 women and 8,937 men) a third of whom were in coeducational institutions, a fact

³ R. Littlehales, *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, p. 212.

which illustrates a growing freedom in the profession. The total number of Indian women nurses in 1929-30 was estimated to be 1,070.⁴ More significant than the number in the nursing profession, however, is the changing attitude toward the profession. Hitherto regarded as a menial service of low moral tone, today, nursing is beginning to gain public recognition and is attracting a better class of students. A further trend of advance is the widening of the field of service in mission hospitals to include general nursing. Due to social customs the Indian nurse has been limited to women patients. Although the concensus of opinion still favors the limited service on moral grounds, a small minority urges the necessity for more scope. The lack of trained midwives and the monopoly of the rural field by illiterate unsanitary old women, often half blind, is the darkest side of the health picture of Indian women. On the other hand an encouraging sign of advance is the effective work of Indian women health visitors who are being trained in health service.

In China the same general forces of progress have been operative in ameliorating health conditions as in India. Missions have played an important part. The main index is not the number of hospitals but the spread of Western medicine during the last 100 years since its introduction into China. Western style drugs and drug shops, hospitals and so-called Western style doctors have multiplied in the larger towns and cities. Modern ideas of health are being promoted to a certain extent by the National Movement, which is beginning to have an influence in changing the public atti-

⁴ Mrs. E. A. Watts, S. R. N. (Editor), *Handbook on the Trained Nurses' Association of India*, 1931, pp. 84-105.

tude and bringing at least to an active minority the awareness of the fact that the health of women and children in any country is of pivotal importance in building a strong nation. As in India the untrained one hundred per cent illiterate midwife is a terrible menace. But a distinct sign of progress is the government's attempt to replace the old with the modern trained midwife. In 1929 the first National Midwifery School was opened in Peiping.

In the training of women for the medical and nursing service in China missionary influence has been dominant. Of the six mission medical schools, two are for women and one for men and three are coeducational. These institutions have attracted a very fine type of women students, the larger proportion of whom are Christian. In 1931 the women students constituted one-third of the total number of students in the mission medical schools. This offers an interesting contrast to the number of women students in America who are four per cent of the total. Doubtless to a very great extent the reason that the profession is attracting so many women in China is because of the equality and high prestige of women physicians. Relatively the standing of a woman doctor in China is higher than in America. As in India practically all of the nurses have been trained in Mission hospitals. A recent development in the profession is the course for post graduate nurses recently established in the Public Health Center in Peiping. The present estimate of 2,000 graduate nurses means one to every 200,000 people⁵ compared to the United States which has one for every 570. A distinct

⁵ *Fact Finders' Report on China*, Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry.

sign of progress is the decrease in the training and use of men nurses. Women will no longer be limited to nursing women patients.

The physical conditions affecting the life of women and children in Japan are very different from those in China and India, corresponding to the difference in the educational level. An index of difference is the fact that mission hospitals have never played a major role as elsewhere in the Orient. There are only two mission hospitals out of eighty-two. Appreciating modern medicine, Japan has adopted it and established numerous medical institutions. Recent studies of the modern situation comment on the excellent provision of hospitals in Japan. There has been no necessity, as in India, to make women's hospitals a special feature; advance affecting women has been merely a part of general advance in health conditions. Public health and general health education have received special attention. Due to the almost universal literacy, Japan has been able to carry on effective health teaching through the schools and many lines of public health education. As a basis of further improvement of the health of women and girls, a number of research organizations, such as the Nutrition Experiment Station in Tokyo and the National Institute of Physical Education, also in Tokyo, are carrying on interesting health studies and experimentation.

To the promotion of a stronger childhood and womanhood Japan is giving much attention through the public schools. The very successful physical education program in schools includes not only ordinary drills and simple games but rhythmical gymnastics and classical arts, such as fencing and jiu jitsu. If you have



Japanese Girls Enjoy Winter Sports—Tokyo Y. W. C. A. Ski Club



The Sewing Class in an Indian School

seen the large public exhibitions of physical education of girls in the athletic park near the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo or witnessed the farewells accorded to the Japanese women athletes of the Olympic team as they sailed from Yokohama, you can scarcely realize that twenty years ago the ladylike and innocuous physical culture of the day met with strong disapproval, based on the fear that it would destroy feminine charm. The wholesale adoption of the blue serge pleated skirt and middie blouse uniform—blue blouse until May; white blouse afterwards—of high school girls has had much to do with this change in attitude. This school uniform with heavy walking shoes has made physical exercise and vigorous sports natural, which the kimono and wooden geta did not allow. These sturdy wholesome Japanese school girls of today, striding along with one step to two or three of those of the mother mincing along in her geta, are growing up with much more physical strength and with very different tastes than was characteristic of girls of the past generation. The effect of this emphasis on physical education is evident in the trend of development in girls' height, weight and chest measurements since 1900, as shown by the records of physical examinations in schools.

In contrast to women physicians in China, Japanese women in the medical profession do not have complete professional equality. They are not eligible to the regular medical training taken by men, hence do not have the same degree. From the several women's medical schools, which give the lower degree, hundreds of students graduate each year. The provision of nurses in Japan of one for each 1,100 people contrasts strikingly

with that for China of one to each 200,000.⁶ But the prevailing standards of nursing in Japan are low, little above domestic service, except in hospitals like St. Luke's in Tokyo. Midwifery, however, according to medical authorities, compares favorably with that of European countries.

With all the increased emphasis on medical care for women and children in the Orient; through the growth in hospitals, the entrance of educated well-trained women into health service and through the general promotion of health standards, one naturally asks the question, what is the response of the masses for whom these efforts are exerted? Pioneer missionaries have abundant illustration of the slowly changing attitude of Eastern women, especially in India and China, where ignorance and superstition are the great barriers to medical care. "In the early days," a missionary relates "an Indian purdah woman would rather have died than bear the disgrace of seeing a male doctor; and the only way a man could operate for cataract was through a hole in a sheet," was cited as a conservative illustration. Today such an extreme attitude is more rare although women doctors in North India will long be needed. The breaking down of the fear of hospitals is a subject of frequent comment. To quote from Doctor Benjamin of the American Baptist Woman's Hospital of Nellore: "During the first year of the hospital, there were only three confinement cases, all abnormal; in 1930 there were 250 maternity cases of which 200 were normal. The increase in the number of high caste patients, the most conservative class, is very marked. They make

⁶ *Fact Finders' Report* Laymen's Mission Inquiry.

no objection now to being cared for in the ward with outcastes." Superstition rather than social conservatism has been the main deterrent in China, preventing women as well as men from receiving scientific care; the fear of foreign institutions is very real. Even as recently as 1931 fifteen old women, received from villages nearby into a home established by a Federated Relief Committee of Peiping, left because of fear "that their hearts and eyes were to be taken out by the foreigners; otherwise they said "why should they receive all this comfort?" Later they came back reassured of the kindly attention of the foreigner. Such fears, which are intensified in respect to receiving modern medical treatment, are steadily being allayed by the ministry of healing and by the spirit of love and friendliness.

The ultimate question as to the amelioration of conditions can only be answered with any degree of certainty after a longer period. But the upward trend has begun. Attitudes of individuals and the general public are changing. Slowly a new philosophy of health is being established which no longer considers disease as inevitable but puts a higher premium on the health of women and children.

CHAPTER VI

The Widening Sphere of Interest

I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self.

—"*Chitra*" by Rabindranath Tagore.

"**F**ORMERLY the Chinese woman was conscious of belonging only to a family," says a missionary in China, "today she realizes that she is a part of a nation." This comment sums up very simply the changed outlook of the Eastern woman. In the past the home bounded her interests. Her only contacts were those with the family and its many ramifications. Her thought life was family-centered. But today the periphery of her life has been extended beyond the quiet protected environment of the past into the rush and confusion of the modern world. The circle of her interests is widening as the circle from a pebble widens in a still pool. The movement outward has led to the association with other women. The new element of organizations and clubs has entered her life. The area of her thinking and the range of her activity has expanded to include civic and national interests and even international relationships.

To missionaries and others, who have known the shut-in Indian woman of the past, her emergence today into the life around her is indeed a revelation. Women's clubs were scarcely known fifteen years ago. Today the club life of Indian women of the large cities is almost as varied and complicated as is that of American

women. But women's organizations are not limited to the urban centers; almost every small town in India has its purdah club. Simple as these purdah clubs seem, they are, for many women, the "little door" which leads them, like Alice in Wonderland, into the wide world—wide, not in geographical distance but in the distance from the old limited life to the new unfolding world. They represent the enriching of the Indian woman's life in a way not unlike the benefits of the woman's club of the small town in America a generation ago. But they have a greater significance than a club could possibly have in America, as life for many an Indian woman has brought hitherto no outside relationships. Starting from the purely social gathering of the purdah club, Indian women have steadily widened the range of their activities, taking part in local societies for child welfare and social reform, and perhaps in strong national organizations.

The impelling motive of this steady outward movement of women has undoubtedly been the spirit of nationalism which, since the World War, has so profoundly affected the life of India. Women have shared in the policies of the movement; in Bombay they repeatedly held the post of war dictator. It is estimated that up until 1931 at least 3,000 women had been imprisoned during the Civil Disobedience Movement. The National Movement has also been a dominant factor in giving women political equality. Since 1921 the major Indian States and all of the provinces of British India have granted suffrage and equal rights of election to municipal councils and legislatures. Women have served as honorary magistrates and as members of the legislature. Doctor Muthulakshmi Reddi re-

ceived the special honor of election as Deputy President of the Legislative Council of the Madras Presidency. In the new constitution of India the inclusion of woman's suffrage is accepted without question. The proposal to insure adequate representation of women by giving them special preferential treatment has, however, met with vigorous opposition by a representative majority who demand equality, not special privileges.¹

In China ever since the Imperial régime was overthrown in 1911, the Chinese woman's world has been steadily expanding. In this movement outward Chinese women have shown less evidence than the women of India of an urge to form associations and clubs. No national federation comparable to the All-India Conference has come to unite Chinese women as a whole. The returned student, however, is prominent in clubs in cities such as Shanghai, Canton, Nanking and Peiping and interest is growing in national organizations due to the Nationalist movement.

Women in China, as those in India, have been accorded political equality, the principle of which was declared in the new constitution, Article 6, Chapter 2: "All Citizens (Kuo-Min) of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law, irrespective of sex, race, religion or caste." Article 7 states: "that all Citizens of China shall . . . enjoy the rights of election, initiative, recall and referendum." Thus women will start on a basis of equality with men when popular elections are introduced. Women have already begun to participate in government positions. In 1930 there were al-

¹ *Stri Dharma*, "A Joint Declaration on Women's Franchise," March, 1932. (The leading woman's magazine in India.)

ready 204 women occupying various posts under the National Government. Twenty-eight women delegates from different parts of China attended the Third National People's Conference in Nanking in May, 1929. The Legislative Yuan has two women members.²

Woman's suffrage in Japan is a goal, not yet an achievement. Japanese women have not had the advantage of being carried along on a tide of nationalism to political equality. Imperialism rests on the foundations of conservatism and any change in the *status quo* is viewed with suspicion. Therefore, woman's suffrage will not be granted automatically as in China. But when suffrage is eventually won, it may be more fully appreciated and perhaps more intelligently used because of the concentrated effort required to obtain it. The distinct upward trend toward political recognition began in 1922 when the Imperial Diet repealed the order, which, since 1888, had prohibited women from attending or participating in political meetings. The growing political importance of women is reflected in the fact that political parties have now begun to jockey for feminine support. One party, the Seiyukai, has included suffrage in its program. A bill granting civil rights to women has passed the Lower House but was shelved by the Peers.

Although the suffrage movement may be rightly regarded as the focal point of the woman's movement for political and social advance in Japan today, it represents only a comparatively small part of the organizational life of Japanese women. Since the World War there has been a tremendous increase in women's

² Miss Li Ging, "Modern Chinese Women," *China Critic*, Nov., 1930.

associations, primarily due to the general process of rapid Westernization in Japan. These women's associations follow two main trends; those which are emphasizing motherhood and home life from the standpoint of the individual; and those focussed on the social and political advance of women. The former are strongly supported by the government. The growing number of professional societies indicates the educational advance in Japan. Women have played an important part in the social welfare movement both in private and government agencies. A vigorous group of proletarian leaders have advocated industrial improvement. Interest and participation of women in national conferences has steadily grown.

Throughout the Orient the value of women's contribution in civic and national movements is recognized with increasing appreciation.³ But the extent of their public participation is curtailed by the paucity of trained leaders. In all phases of women's activity—in political organization, in women's local clubs and national movements, in social welfare work—the lack of trained leadership is everywhere apparent. Only the next generation will be able to capitalize fully the privileges of a wider world which the present day has brought.

The same period that has marked the awakening of women into social and national consciousness has

³ The leading National Women's organizations in the East are as follows: in India and Burma the Y.W.C.A., W.C.T.U., and National Council of Women, and in India also the All India Women's Conference and the Women's Indian Association; in China, the Y.W.C.A., W.C.T.U., the Women's Rights League and the National Council of Women; and in Japan, the Y.W.C.A., W.C.T.U., the Women's Federation of Western Japan, and the three Woman's Suffrage Societies.



Prominent Leaders in the All-Asian Women's Conference, January, 1931, Lahore, India

brought the realization of their international relationship. Their microscopic view of life, centered in the home, has within a few years widened into the telescopic vision of a world. In the growing unity of interest and effort, which, since the World War, has been bringing the East and the West more closely together, the women of the Orient have intimately shared.

This new awareness of the world beyond their own national boundaries has come through many channels into the life of Eastern women but especially through their national organizations which have international affiliations; such as, The World's Young Women's Christian Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Council of Women, the International Suffrage Alliance, the International League for Peace and Freedom and the World's Student Christian Federation. Formerly in the conferences of these world movements, Western women, friends of the Orient, interpreted the Eastern problem and point of view. But no Western woman today would have the temerity to try to interpret the changing world of Oriental women, since they themselves can present the Orient. Women leaders from India, Burma, China and Japan have come forward, who can voice Eastern opinion and add to the counsels of the West the wisdom of the East, which has matured in the silence of a long waiting. Today no world conference of women is complete without its Eastern delegates. No one who has recently attended a world conference of women on any subject can fail to realize this new influence which has come into these world gatherings.

Not only in specific women's conferences, but in general gatherings on world problems, Eastern women

have begun to share effectively. Few in number, the women from the Orient at the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem in 1928 made a definite impression on that gathering and were themselves a convincing proof of progress in the East. Oriental women have more quickly found a place in international political gatherings than have women in the West. After a little less than a decade of political rights women delegates from India and Burma participated in the Round Table Conferences with England. Moreover, they were regarded, not as charming feminine additions only, but as active members, capable of intelligent deliberation on the future relationship of these countries.

Through many personal contacts with the West as well as through international organizations and conferences, the consciousness of international relationship has been fostered. The possibilities of interchange between women of the East and West are steadily multiplying in the present day. World travellers, not merely tourists bent on sight-seeing, but Western women, students of affairs, eager to understand and appreciate the East, are bringing their interpretation of Western thought to the East. "We welcome women in touch with movements of the West to share with us *their* knowledge of Western technique and social organization. We need all that we can get. Our experience is very recent," said one of the suffrage leaders in Japan, in speaking of a well-informed American woman who had spent some months in Tokyo the year before. The Oriental student, returning from study in Europe or America, is also today a force in international relations, which cannot be fully evaluated.

Through their daily living, Western patterns of thought are being unconsciously and inextricably woven into the texture of Eastern life. The exchange of college professors between women's colleges of the Orient and the Occident is a new field of international relationship, as yet little developed. At the present time Wellesley College and Isabella Thoburn College have such an interchange.⁴ As the women of the East and the West are thus in various ways brought culturally closer together, a new basis for international understanding is formed.

The growth of international consciousness among Eastern women has come first through relationship with the West. Only more recently has closer contact with other countries in the East been established. "The women of Asia know more of Europe and America than of Asia. The Chinese woman sees more of her American sister than of her Burmese neighbour, the Hindu woman knows more of her British sister than of her Arabian or Afghan relative," a prominent Indian woman wrote in discussing India's lack of contact with the rest of Asia. "Cultural contacts between the Far East—China and Japan—and America have fostered their international relationship, and many ties for over one hundred and fifty years have established the close connection between India and England."⁵

Feeling the need for closer relationship with other countries of Asia, a group of Indian women leaders initiated the All-Asian Conference held in Lahore in Janu-

⁴ Miss Thillayampalam, the first Indian woman to take a Ph.D. degree in Zoology at Columbia, is on an exchange professorship at Wellesley College.

⁵ *All Asian Women's Conference Report*, Lahore, 1931.

ary, 1931, the object of which was to develop a spirit of Asian sisterhood and promote the cause of Asian womanhood. The call to the conference, sent to thirty-three countries of Asia emphasizes their cultural kinship. Bringing together on the same platform women from Java and Ceylon, India and Burma, Persia and Afghanistan, the All Asian Conference gave one the vision of unexplored possibilities of relationship among the women of Asia. Cables from Syria, Moscow and Siam heightened this impression. At the great opening Assembly of twelve hundred guests in the brilliantly decorated Eastern pavilion, the Vedic hymn "United in progress, United in expression, United in thought, Let our minds approach Thee," struck the deep note of solidarity and high purpose, which characterized the entire conference. Although not truly representative of Asia, since China was not represented and Japan only by a young student, the conference was a significant beginning of what may be a future force in bringing Eastern women together. The All Asian Conference established links with other international organizations and with the League of Nations by the appointment of Doctor Muthulakshmi Reddi as its liaison representative in international relations, and Miss May Oung of Rangoon as the All Asian representative on the Women's International Committee on the Nationality of Married Women, which was established by the Council of the League of Nations.

Another significant factor in the growth of an international consciousness among women in the Orient with also women of the Occident has been the two Pan Pacific Conferences in 1928 and 1930 in Honolulu, which have drawn together Eastern and Western

women of the Pacific area for the consideration of common problems. The personal intercourse in these conferences, as in the All Asian Conference, has been a new adventure in friendship for women of the Orient.

In the increasing participation of Oriental women in international affairs, their active identification with the cause of peace is of foremost importance. Within the last decade they have become keenly conscious of the futility of war and have realized their responsibility for promoting peace. Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, the secretary of the All Asian Woman's Conference, voices the conviction of Indian women when she says, "Western ethics have been weighed in the balance during the last war and found wanting . . . Asia has realized that it is time that she should emerge once again with her old doctrines of peace and world brotherhood. New conceptions of patriotism, . . . are impelling every Asian country to carry patriotism beyond the national borders, and it is more than likely that before long Asia will be united in a comity of nations, determined to deliver the message of peace and good will to the world."⁶ At the London Naval Conference the women of Japan gave a dramatic evidence of their wide-spread interest in peace when Miss Hayashi and Mrs. Gauntlett presented their great basket of one hundred and eighty thousand women's signatures advocating disarmament. It is an interesting fact that the idea of having petitions presented by women from England, France and America at the Naval Conference originated with the women of Japan.

The peace aspirations of the women of China and Japan, inspired first by a sense of world need, have

⁶ *Preface to All Asian Women's Conference Report*, Lahore, 1931.

now been intensified by the poignant reality of the Sino-Japanese conflict. This idea is expressed in a message from the National Y.W.C.A. to the Y.W.C.A. Convention in America, "International ideas, to which hitherto a formal, academic or only implied acceptance have been given, have presented themselves for vindication in validifying action. Strongly the compulsion of new loyalties has been sensed."⁷ The Woman's Peace Society of Japan in the early days of the struggle circulated an appeal that national aspirations might be harmonized with the international ideal of peace. Several women leaders from Japan, feeling the need for personal contact, came to China seeking a basis of sympathetic understanding. The women leaders in China, committed to the cause of peace, have steadily sought to maintain the ideal of international agreements, guaranteed through the League of Nations, although they have had to contend with the public disillusionment and impatience with peace machinery and the growing militaristic spirit of self-defensive nationalism.

In this crisis the women of both countries have been made acutely conscious of their world relationship and world responsibility by the many cables from national and international organizations. These have expressed, not only their message of sympathy, but have raised the challenging question as to what the women of China and Japan are doing to prevent future wars. The interaction of groups of women, remote in distance but bound together in the unity of the world problem of peace, has been an unique feature of the Eastern crisis.

⁷ From the National Committee Y.W.C.A. of China to the National Convention in the U.S.A. and Canada, May, 1932.

For the first time women of the East and West have been closely related. This sympathetic understanding of women around the world gives great promise for the future participation of women in international action. Appreciation of the world interest in the Sino-Japanese crisis is expressed in a letter from Miss Shu Ching Ting, the general secretary of the National Y.W.C.A. in China, to whom the messages from international organizations were sent. "The close connection with national and international groups of women abroad has been a source of great strength and encouragement, as we have vividly realized that millions of women the world around are deeply committed to the cause of peace."⁸

Persistent identification with the ideals of peace by Oriental women through this tense period has involved a personal struggle, scarcely appreciated by advocates of peace in the West, to whom this ideal has rarely meant individual sacrifice. The expression of unanimous international feeling in the rarefied atmosphere of a world gathering is very different from the personal conflict between national interests and international ideals. To be a world citizen in the Orient at the present time of crisis exposes one to the danger of being branded as nationally disloyal. Christian leaders in both China and Japan feel this conflict keenly as it seems to be a choice between loyalty to their country and loyalty to Christian ideals of peace. One of these Eastern women, committed to the peace ideal writes, "We pacifists are oppressed from every corner. We need encouragement and support and real

⁸ Letter from Miss Shu Ching Ting to the National Staff and Committee Members, Dec. 7, 1931.

friends." Realizing fully the personal price of being internationally minded, women leaders in China and Japan have risen to the challenge of peace and sought, as one Chinese leader expresses it, "to think, to feel and to function as an intrinsic part of the fabric of new world life."

Looking beyond the immediate present, they have recognized the destructive influence of the present war psychology and realized the necessity for constructive nation building. The Y.W.C.A. in China is concentrating its attention on promoting an adult education program on ideals of constructive patriotism. A plan has been drawn up for a Nation Building Federation of women all over China, which provides for the social and educational development of the individual as the necessary foundation of the nation, together with the emphasis on service as a national ideal. The educational objective for 1932 shows the scope of the plan—"that fifty thousand women shall come to an understanding of the underlying causes of friction in Sino-Japanese relations and that each shall find one way in which she can personally work to improve these relations." Thoughtful Eastern leaders are deeply concerned also about the effect of the present militaristic period on children. Mrs. Kohra, a leading child psychology specialist in Japan, in her talks to teachers never fails to emphasize their responsibility for inculcating ideals of peace in children. The Women's Peace Association of Japan fostered the ideal of peace by having essay contests among school children on disarmament. A Chinese mother, troubled over the impression that the Shanghai crisis has made on her children said, "We can not afford to allow them to grow up with the idea of

hating individuals. We must transfer the hatred to the thing which has made this situation possible."

According to an old proverb, "Men make the roads but it is women who teach children how to walk." Through their widened vision of world relationship and international ideals, the women of the Orient to-day are teaching the leaders of tomorrow to walk in the ways of peace.

CHAPTER VII

Religious Expression in the New Day

Lead me from Error into Truth,
From Darkness into Light.

—Ancient Indian prayer
from the Upanishads.

THE far-reaching changes in the position of Oriental women which are bringing social freedom, economic independence, physical well-being and educational advance are all phases of one fundamental process of change in the East today—the re-thinking of religious values. The widening of the horizon of a woman's life beyond the four walls of her home is a manifestation of the all pervasive effect of new spiritual forces. The melting of old and relatively irrational religious inhibitions is allowing natural impulses freer play.

As long as there was no question of the authority of Islam or Hinduism, Buddhism or the teachings of Confucius, there was little chance of any change in the life of women since these faiths, as interpreted by the orthodox, curtailed the freedom of women. But, due to the pressure of many forces, the absolute power of religion has been undermined. No country of the East is free from the effect of modern religious thought. The control of religion as an iron-clad system of rules and traditions has been called into question. A more individual interpretation is finding expression. This current of religious liberalism in the East has deeply affected life as a whole, but especially the life and thought of women. They have shared the desire

for greater religious independence, their thought following the same general direction as that of men. Especially in China and Japan is there little difference in the attitude of men and women toward religion. In India certain social-religious problems, which are interrelated, are of definite significance to women and have therefore evoked a special reaction. But on the whole women in the Orient are developing in their religious thought along the same lines as men. This fact is in itself very significant of the new position of Eastern women.

The Social Reform Movement in India, which is accomplishing changes in child marriage, purdah and other social customs, always associated with religious sanctions, has challenged non-Christian Indian women to find a freer interpretation of their faith. If religion is a retrogressive influence, then it must be brought up to date. A great body of educated women's opinion supported the child marriage law, although orthodox Hindu opinion tried to prove that the law was opposed to Hinduism. A prominent Brahman woman expressed the general feeling of Hindu women when she said very forcibly in her evidence before the Age of Consent Commission,¹ "If the Hindu Shastra (teachings) allows child marriage then we'll have to get another Shastra." Mohammedan women leaders also urge that religion be brought into accord with modern needs. Lady Abdul Qadir in speaking of purdah in a public address said, "Purdah as observed among certain classes of Indian Mohammedans is far beyond anything enjoined by Islam—and requires modification

¹ *Report of the Age of Consent Committee*, 1928-29, Calcutta. Government of India Central Publication Bureau; 1929.

according to the needs of the day and the rapidly changing times."² Such a statement is far from the old idea of fatalistic acceptance of the limitations of religion. The significance in this new attitude is that with many women, especially of the older generation, it does not mean a break with the old faith but an assertion of the right to interpret it. The rigid authority of orthodox religion is broken but its essence may not be undermined.

Along with this spirit of independence toward their own religion has developed a more liberal attitude toward other religions. Indian women have gone far in the last decade toward breaking down religious barriers. Women from different religions and castes from all over India have been drawn together repeatedly to confer on problems of common interest; they have forgotten their differences, and have achieved a remarkable degree of unity. Illustrative of this breaking of barriers is an incident which occurred at the time of the All India Woman's Conference at Madras. A large party of delegates on a day's excursion to the Seven Pagodas stopped at a temple where the sacred white eagles are fed. The Hindu women, in spite of the remonstrance of the priest, insisted that the foreigners and non-Hindus should enter the temples. Furthermore when the priests after feeding the birds invited the orthodox Hindus to come forward and receive the sacred food, one of them called out "There are no such distinctions here. Either we will all come forward or no one will come." After whispering together for a few moments, the Brahman priests came

² Lady Abdul Qadir (*Stri Dharma*, March, 1931),² ("Muslim Views On Purdah and Marriage.")¹

down among them and offered to all the sacred food.

A marked trend of the day in India is the intermingling of the spirit of nationalism and religion. The national movement has inspired a passion of sacrifice, which is in its essence religious devotion. Through Gandhi's example of vicarious suffering, sacrifice for the sake of sacrifice has become an ideal. Lathi (the staves used by the police) charges and imprisonment are welcomed as a means to that end. This passion knows no ordinary bounds. Millions of people, men and women, young and old, are imbued with the virtue of suffering. In the belief that the freedom of their nation is dependent on the willingness of people to sacrifice, they stake everything on this goal. The young Brahman girl, Bina Das, who at her university commencement in Calcutta last year rose and shot at Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, while he was delivering the commencement address, is a typical illustration. However futile and misguided such individual acts may be, the fact arrests attention that such an ideal of sacrifice dominates so many lives even in these days of materialism.

This spirit of renunciation is an interesting complex of Hindu and Christian ideals of suffering. Many Hindus identify the spirit of Gandhi with the suffering figure on the Cross. Gandhi has brought Christ into the consciousness of India, so that there is today a great receptivity for the Christ ideal. Without becoming Christians many in India freely accept Christ's teaching. In the home of a prominent Hindu woman leader hangs a crucifix, from which she draws her inspiration for a life of sacrificial service in the real spirit of Christ.

One hears frequently an expression of unreserved admiration for Christ from non-Christian women leaders and recognition of His life of sacrifice as the ideal. "I am willing to sacrifice my son as Christ sacrificed Himself; my son is my life," the mother of Bhagat Singh, the young Lahore revolutionist, said when her son was condemned to death.

Christian youth in the full current of all of these new influences is deeply affected. Through the national movement Christians and non-Christians have been drawn closer together. This new relationship has made Christian youth very sensitive to the prevailing criticism of non-Christians that Christianity in India is a Western religion, and that Christians are denationalized. In the desire to be thoroughly Indian some Indian Christians have been led away from Christianity. But to others the challenge of nationality has been a challenge to make Christianity more truly a part of India. The longing for a place in India as Indians—Christian Indians, not Indian Christians—has caused a reorientation of Christian youth toward Hinduism as the basis of Indian culture. This attitude is in contrast to the exclusive aloofness of the older Christian generation, which has always repudiated Hinduism. Some of the younger generation swing far in their appreciation of Hinduism, and are even ready to call themselves Hindu Christians, perplexed, as they are, with the question of the exclusiveness of the Christian religion. "Does it matter," they say, "what religion and what name one bears, if Christ is supreme?" One of the expressions of the rapprochement between Christians and non-Christians in India is the International Fellowship Movement which brings together men and women

of different faiths, who both individually and collectively desire to see the Kingdom of God in human relationships.

Undoubtedly Gandhi is the paramount influence in the thinking of Christians as of non-Christians. "Why is Mahatma Gandhi so beloved, respected and worshiped by millions in India today?" an Indian Christian woman asked. "It is because he is a man of God in whose face and life people will see the love of Jesus reflected." "Through Gandhi," as another Indian Christian in one of the Christian Colleges said, "we have caught a new vision of our own Christ and a deeper desire to share Him with others."

Free from sectarianism a Christianity centered in Christ is the religious ideal of a great many Indian Christians of the younger generation. At a recent Y.W.C.A. conference for social workers, in which Hindus, Moslems and Christians shared, Miss Kamelini Sircar, an ardent Christian, expressed the prevailing religious mood of the younger generation in India, "Our religion should bring us nearer to God and so nearer to each other. We have let ourselves be separated by narrow fanatical bigotry. We Christians have narrowed Christ until we have made Him unattractive to non-Christians. In this tragic hour, we must ignore lesser distinctions and cultivate more tolerance for honest religious differences. If your house is on fire, you do not inquire into the creed of those who come to help."³ The depth of spirituality and breadth of vision, characteristic of some of these young Indian Christian women working closely with non-Christian

³ Address by Kamelini Sircar at the Y.W.C.A. Conference of Social Workers at Qotacamund, April, 1931.

women, is one of the most hopeful features in the present confused situation in India.

In China life as a whole has never been dominated by religion as in India. The burning passion of fanaticism and deep spirituality, engendered by religion in India, seem foreign to the Chinese temperament. The Confucian teaching of tolerance in all things has tempered religious emotion and deprived it of its glow. With the modernization of China, which has inevitably undermined the authority of the old established faiths, the characteristic Chinese spirit of tolerant liberalism has been further accentuated. The cleavage between the philosophy of Confucius, which has been the basis of the old code and the demands of the new social order, has not been a sharply drawn religious issue as in India. There has been little attempt to rationalize and explain the old teaching in terms of a modern world. Change is accepted with less conflict than in India. The absolute authority of the old code is slipped off like an outworn garment. A new code, which carries over the best values of the old, is sought to fit the needs of a new day.

Among non-Christian leaders who are thoughtfully analyzing China's present needs, there is a marked trend toward Humanism. Independence of thought, a worship of science, and the repudiation of belief in any power outside of one's own control characterize this group of modern thinkers. Strongly influenced by Western education and imbued with a spirit of nationalism, they are trying to apply scientific thought on a Confucian base. The attitude toward Christianity is very tolerant. Its social values and the essential Christian teachings of the worth of the individual and the



A Village Woman of Northern India

brotherhood of man are fully appreciated. In this group of intellectual modernists there is little sense of personal need for religion. They believe that enlightenment will come to the people through education and that through self-reliance and conscious effort, the problems of the new day will be intelligently solved. The Chinese people, moreover, they maintain, are pragmatic and highly practical. In the effort to choose and adopt values which will serve the best interests of China, religious and cultural ideas are all alike analyzed in a spirit of perfect freedom.

To the majority of the younger generation in China, both Christian and non-Christian, religion is a matter of mild indifference. Their attitude merely reflects the prevailing lack of interest in religion. According to a recent study of a large number of books and publications, only three out of five hundred books were on religious subjects. With youth in China there seems to be little sense of conflict with religion or repudiation of the old orthodox points of view, such as one finds in Islamic countries. Religion is simply a matter of little vital concern; it cannot compete with political or intellectual interests.

Among Christian students, however, a growing minority is definitely interested in a new interpretation of religion—not the religion of Sunday preaching and Bible classes but of personal spirituality and a *Way of Life*. "We are trying to make Christianity a living thing," the ideal voiced by a Yenching student, sums up this general trend among college students. In the formation of a Student Fellowship of both men and women, the urge for free creative spiritual expression has found an outlet which the Church, they felt, did

not offer. The individualistic note is dominant in these Fellowships with undertones of mysticism and with a marked appreciation of liturgy and corporate worship. They represent the same trend away from conventional religious expression, characteristic of the religious life of Indian students. The desire for experimentation in forms of worship is symptomatic of a prevailing spirit of religious freedom. One of the women professors at Yenching University, in discussing this individualistic trend, explained it as being related to the general reaction away from the control of the family system. It may also be a natural sequence of the anti-Christian, anti-foreign movement of some years ago which tended to deepen the faith of many Chinese Christians and caused them to analyze their religion in personal terms, instead of accepting the conventional interpretation of religion. Perhaps also the more individualistic religious expression follows naturally the disillusionment that has been engendered by the failure of the Revolution to fulfill the high ideals anticipated.

The trend away from organized Christianity is also characteristic of many of the more mature Chinese leaders, especially the returned student group. "Sec-tarianism means nothing to us," said a Chinese Christian worker in South China. "I am a Northern Presbyterian in South China; my sister is a Southern Presbyterian in North China. We can see no real difference." She is typical of many educated Chinese who have lost interest in the Church because of its too exclusive denominational emphasis. The lack of vital intellectual satisfaction or spiritual stimulus in the Church has also tended to alienate the educated group.

Among returned students one often finds a feeling of estrangement from the Church. Perhaps their exposure to Western Christianity during their years in America brought disillusionment and a strong swing toward Humanism, which has crowded out their former simple faith; or perhaps their American experience brought church contacts intellectually and spiritually stimulating, so that, by contrast, their own churches in China seem barren and uninspiring, unrelated to the modern world. They do not question the need for the Church but consider it more as a charity organization for the under-privileged, than as a great spiritual fellowship and an active community force. Some of this group attend their church from a sense of duty, realizing the influence of their example, but it is not a vital force in their lives.

It would be erroneous, however, to interpret this trend as due entirely to a decline in religious consciousness. There may be among the majority, as has been said, an indifference to religion but there are many who have a real sense of need for a more vital religion and are seeking new sources of religious inspiration and expression. There are many of the returned student group, for the most part second generation Christian leaders, who regret that they lack the definite Christian consciousness and clear-cut sense of direction characteristic of their parents. "We have lost the simple faith of our parents. We are not giving our children the Christian home-teaching which they need and which we had in our youth," the expression of a young married woman of Peiping, a graduate from an American woman's college, sums up this feeling. Women of this type, not actively identified with the

promotion of the Church, are finding their religious outlets in social service. They constitute the most effective and dependable leadership in various lines of social work and community projects.

As in China and India, the trend away from the Church has also been very marked in Japan. A number of independent religious groups or fellowships in which women have shared have been formed as a substitute for Church organization. Aside from Christians affiliated with these groups, there is a large number of Christians outside all direct religious affiliation. Due to its lack of a social message the Church has lost many advanced social thinkers. It is a significant fact that some of the outstanding social leaders, men and women in government social service and in private social effort, are Christians who have withdrawn from any direct Christian relationship. These leaders, originally inspired by the Church, have, as they sometimes express it, now "graduated from the Church." Kagawa recently made the striking statement that he was the only one of the radicals that had remained a Christian. A further arresting statement was to the effect that eighty per cent of the present Communists are former Christians. "They left the Church because they considered the Church too individualistic. Looking at economic conditions, the Church closes its eyes."

In both China and Japan Christians face the red question mark of Communism which cannot be ignored. Because of its definite social program Communism attracts followers and inspires courageous sacrifice especially among youth. Whether Communism is really understood by those who respond to its appeal may well be questioned, but one cannot doubt

the force of its appeal. Young women as well as young men are deeply affected by these new thought currents. Repressed and driven underground these ideals become dangerous in Japan but have a freer range of expression in China. In essence this interest in Communism may be interpreted as the spirit of idealism seeking a solution for modern social problems. It represents the passion for reality characteristic of the modern day. A growing number of Christian leaders in China realize that it is of vital concern for the Christian movement to have a clearer understanding of Communism. For this purpose Chinese Christian students are eager to go to Russia for study. "It is a mistake," one of the more mature Christian leaders points out, "to present Christianity and Communism as antagonists since this identifies Christianity with the other sworn foes of Communism; namely, capitalism and imperialism. There may be certain Christian ideals in Communism which Christianity cannot afford to lose but must seek to apply for the noblest end." The liberal attitude toward Communism and the desire for fuller knowledge of it is an interesting evidence of the explorative spirit in religious thinking in the East today.

One must not, however, forget that there is also in each country of the Orient a number of young Christian leaders who are finding their fullest service within the Church. In India many young teachers in the mission schools are contributing effectively to the development of the Church. In China the National Christian Council has on its staff a number of very active younger women leaders. Missionaries speak with great appreciation of the evangelistic work effectively carried on

by some of the young leaders in rural China. In Japan a few well-educated young women students specially trained in religious education have entered definite lines of religious work connected with churches or schools.

The changing attitude toward religion in the Orient, which we have been discussing in brief outline, has affected principally the student youth and younger Christian leaders. The older body of Christian women in the Orient has had little, if any, contact with modern thought currents. Nationalism, Communism, social reforms are all alike outside the range of their interests. Their religious life is focussed today, as it always has been, on the Church. In many valuable ways they contribute to the church program. Behind the scenes they carry on the usual valuable "Martha" type of service, cleaning and decorating the church, planning social events, and participating actively in raising church finances. For their money-raising propensities women are especially noted and appreciated in the East as in the West. Through the women's societies they work collectively for the welfare of the church, and often extend their range of service to their own mission activities at home and abroad. For example, in India, the National Missionary Society has called forth the very active efforts of Indian Christian women; in Japan some of the churches have Women's Foreign Mission Societies for work in Formosa and Manchuria. Women in Burma, both Burmese and Karens, play a very important role in general church activities and in their own program through their local and national societies. They carry a large part of the financial responsibility for their paid women evangel-

ists. Women in the Eastern Church, as a whole, are growing in responsible leadership, not only where the educated members predominate in the larger city churches, but also in rural areas. This is especially true in some parts of China.

But the church life of women is not limited to types of work connected with the special women's societies. In church administration women are being given a place of equality of privilege and of responsibility with that held by men. Women in the church in the Orient have in fact been accorded more general equality than women in the churches of America have achieved. Considering the prevailing status of Eastern women in relation to men, the position of equality in church life is surprising.

In a recent study of India of churches widely representative, the majority reported equal voting rights and important positions held by women. They are eligible to membership in provincial Christian Councils and in the National Christian Council, although they have not figured in these prominently. In China women often serve as deacons and elders; a typical situation is that of the Presbyterian Church at Changsha with two women elders out of nine, and three women out of nine deacons. In the Moore Memorial Methodist Church in Shanghai, six out of fifteen members of the official board, half the stewards and half of the employed staff of the social service activities (this is a large institutional church) are women. The Church of Christ in China and the National Christian Council give women important places in the employed headquarters staff. In Japan the participation of women in the official life of the Church is in-

creasing. The Presbyterian Church gives women the privilege of ordination; there are two licensed women preachers and one is taking her examinations for ordination. The Congregational Church elects two women out of five to the highest governing body in the local church; this is true in lesser degrees of other churches. As also in China women assist at Communion, usher at church services, receive the collection and act as Superintendent of the Sunday School. At the last Baptist Convention thirteen out of eighty-nine delegates were women.

In principle full equality is granted to the women in most of the churches in the East. In practice this equality is often fully realized but in some conservative sections the practice lags behind the theory so that the actual position of women in the Church is sometimes one of inferiority. A conservative pastor can determine the whole situation as has been the case in some churches in Northern Japan. Eastern women, especially the type of the Christian women in the Church, do not usually demand equality. They do not question what the situation offers but work with devotion, wherever they find an opportunity, without being dissatisfied if their sphere may be limited. These women themselves, in their growth in articulate expression and active participation in the Church, demonstrate the slow but steady achievement of Christian missions in building church leadership among women.

The great majority of non-Christian women in the Orient, who have remained untouched by Western influences and modern currents of thought, have also undergone little if any change in their religious outlook. The non-Christian women of the older genera-



Pioneers in Public Health Nursing, Graduates of St. Luke's International Health Center, Tokyo, Japan



A Chinese Woman Surgeon at Hackett Medical Center, Canton, China

tion regard their religion today, whether Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism or the teachings of Confucius, as they have always regarded it. Their faith has remained simple, direct and unquestioning with fatalism as a dominant note. They accept without protest whatever handicaps are imposed by religious sanction and jealously guard the *status quo*; for them religion is the dominant reality of life.

Especially in India is the control of religion supreme. Every detail of living for the orthodox Hindu woman, from the cradle to the grave, bears the impress of religious sanction; bathing, cooking, eating, dressing, social contact, her married life as a wife and mother and perhaps as a widow. Religion may deprive her of social privileges but not of religious responsibilities. As one orthodox woman said, "The men prefer that the women take care of the religion of the family," adding the naive question, "Is it not just like that in America?" For the pious Hindu woman her religious duties do not end with her home, as anyone knows who has seen Hindu women bearing their offerings of fruit and flowers to the temple in Madura or making the rounds of the temples in Benares.

For the orthodox Mohammedan woman religion decrees the curtained life, cut off from the world. Religion does not prescribe for her a daily ritual, as for the Hindu woman, as there are fewer regulations under Islam. Since she is a woman, her religious life is limited to her home. Here, if orthodox, she will pray with her face turned toward Mecca, five times daily in the name of her Prophet, to the one God. Her heart's desire, as a devout follower of Mohammed, is to make the pilgrimage to the Holy City, Mecca. Of the orthodox

Hindu and Moslem women the comment of a missionary who had lived for years in a Hindu city might be equally true: "Hinduism would have a hard time to keep its hold on the people, if it were not for the religious loyalty of women. Men are sometimes lax in religious customs and observances in the outside world but not in their own homes, since the orthodox wife or mother maintains the rigid conservatism of the home."

In China, as in India, very little change has taken place in the religious thinking of the older generation of non-Christian women. With less passion for religion perhaps than Indian women have, but with an untiring devotion, these older Chinese women cherish the household shrines, with the Kitchen God and always their Goddess of Mercy, Kwanyin, "the one who attends to the Cries of the World," and they carefully observe the ceremonies for the ancestral tablets. Would these household shrines and observances for ancestors be so carefully maintained if it were not for the women, is a question which you often ask. At the temples in China you will always see women hobbling along on bound feet, lighting their gold and silver paper money, kneeling at the shrines and fervently shaking the prayer sticks, in the eager hope for health or fortune or, best of all—a son. And even where the temple has been closed by the Nationalists in the interest of economy, and has been transformed perhaps into a school or a museum, you will find one or two women devotees, burning their paper money in the urn which still remains. Often they bring a little son or daughter with them to the temple to initiate them into the intricate religious observances; for on these devout women, Buddhists or followers of other faiths,

rests the responsibility for inculcating respect and religious devotion in the next generation.

As you travel through Japan, you can not fail to be impressed with the religious devotion of Japanese women. The thousand or more earnest black-gowned devotees of the new Shinto sect, Ten Rikyo, worshipping at day-break in their great temple near Nara; the groups of Buddhist nuns, conspicuous figures with their uncovered clean-shaven heads and often very youthful faces; the sad-looking women in dull-colored kimonos leaving their votive offerings at some small temple; the eager group of younger women, buying wooden tablets at the shrine of special efficacy for nursing mothers; the groups of placid looking older women, several widows in their midst, seated quietly listening to the Buddhist priest; and the gaily dressed Geisha girls, flashes of color in the temple at Osaka in the evening with the other devotees, making the rounds of the shrine—these form a series of pictures which make up the composite impression of the meaning of religion in the life of Japanese women. Not only in the temple worship but in their own homes, they show a deep devotion, keeping up the family shrines with their daily offerings of food and flowers and holding firmly to their religious beliefs and practices.

This unchanging religious attitude of the great masses of women in India, China and Japan determines the atmosphere of religious conservatism which still prevails. Only slowly are religious changes in mass thinking effected. Most Oriental women are scarcely conscious of the changes that are being

wrought in their environment by many forces. They are unaware of the current of liberal thought, which inevitably will bring to women of the East a larger measure of religious freedom.

CHAPTER VIII

The Women of Rural Asia

A clean village and an educated woman are the Alpha and Omega of village progress.

—Malcolm Lyall Darling.

WE have tried in the foregoing pages to depict the high lights of change in the Eastern scene today as it affects women, with very little reference to the general background, which is still full of shadows. Although the irresistible forces of a modern world are re-shaping the life of urban centers in the Orient, life in the rural areas is still practically untouched by the general movement of change. For the thousands of women in the cities whose doorways today are open to the new world, there are millions in rural Asia who still live in the narrow boundaries of the old life, limited to their own inner courtyards. These great masses of illiterate, inarticulate village women have been little conscious of any new influences.

In the cities of Asia you have increasingly the feeling that the city world, East or West, speaks the same language of economic depression, education, city improvement and graft, women's movements, amusements, press and radio news and national and international affairs. But in rural Asia you are in a different world, in another age remote from the twentieth century. Perhaps you feel that it is the atmosphere of the Middle Ages or even earlier, as in parts of China, not yet linked up by routes of communication.

How old is your little girl? you ask a Moslem mother in a village in North India and are greeted by the laughter of other women gathered in the courtyard for your visit. And then you are told that the child is a boy, although with long hair and dressed as a girl to fool the evil spirit that has already caused the death of two precious sons. Or you may inquire why the babies have blue beads on their caps, an amulet and scraps of cloth and coins sewed on their dress. "Charms for the evil eye" is the reply.

In another village, why is there such a long delay before the physician can be called to perform an operation on a Mohammedan woman, a delay which may cost her life? The answer to your query is, "In order that the Mullah, the Mohammedan priest, may be consulted and the Koran "cut" to see whether the passage, where the book is opened by chance, is favorable. If so the operation may proceed; if not, it is Allah's will that the woman should die."

Why is the brass band, waiting for the village celebration after the birth of the village headman's new child, suddenly dismissed in silence after the event has taken place? Truly a foolish question, since the child was a girl not a boy. Who would celebrate the birth of a girl? But why is the midwife disappointed? The reason is self-evident when one learns that the midwife receives twice as much for the delivery of a son—one rupee for a boy, eight annas for a girl.

Starting with this initial handicap of being undervalued and unwanted from the day of her birth, a village girl has a long hard road ahead. Whether in a thatched-roof hut in Madras or in a mud-walled village of the United Province the life of the Indian rural

woman is essentially the same—a life of ceaseless toil, cooking the food, carrying the water, working in the fields, grinding corn and making dungcakes, which when dried serve for fuel. The outcaste sweeps the village rubbish and gathers up the night soil from house to house, shunned by those she serves. This endless daily routine leaves little time for the care of her home and children. They must tumble up as best they can. As babies, unwashed and sketchily clad in perhaps an abbreviated shirt, they pass their days sitting in the dirt of the compound or astride the hip of an older brother or sister. Then in a very few years they graduate into the distinction of bearing the next baby on their hips and assume its full care.

There seems to be always a new baby, as babies follow apparently with great frequency often with not more than eighteen months' interval. Grinding poverty does not prevent this frequent child-bearing for is this not the real basis for marriage? Moreover, "it is the will of Allah. Allah, the sustainer of all, will provide" the Moslem woman tells you or the Hindu woman will say it is her Karma. Hence repeated pregnancy is the accepted fact of a woman's existence. The arbiter of her destiny is the village dai (midwife), untrained, ignorant, old, often blind, always filthy and of the lowest class, since child-birth is a period of contamination. Child-marriage and purdah add to her health handicaps. The Sarda Act has as yet had little effect in the villages of India, since there is no adequate means of enforcing the law. Purdah, although more characteristic of town life, has also reached into the village; for here as elsewhere seclusion is for the Mohammedan woman a mark of social distinction.

With ignorance and superstition combined against women and children in rural India, you do not need to know the statistics of infant and maternal mortality to realize the terrible wastage of human life. You do not marvel at the high death rate but rather at the miracle of life, which makes human survival possible.

For the village girl or woman there is little chance to break the hold of her fate as she remains in ignorance of any better way. "Why send the girl to school? What could a girl learn? Besides she is needed for the work so that the brother may attend school." This is a characteristic response to the missionary's urgent request that the bright-eyed little girl may be educated. Furthermore an education would be wasted on a girl since child-marriage still persists in spite of legislation against it. Hence it follows that in India only one village girl in every six hundred in contrast to one boy in every one hundred is in school; and there is only one girls' school for every nineteen towns or villages but one boys' school in every three villages.¹ Village women are practically one hundred per cent illiterate. Until this heavy handicap of illiteracy is removed, there can be no real change among the women of rural India.

The Chinese village woman has not been as heavily weighed down as the Indian woman by social customs that undermine health although there are doubtless still many Chinese women in the interior of China who practically live in purdah, never leaving their own courtyard. The chief social handicap, foot-binding, still persists in rural areas, clouding the child's life with pain and setting her later years within a narrow orbit. The goal of her life is the same as that of the village Indian woman but even stronger is her sense

¹ R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*. Vol. I, p. 156.

of obligation to fulfill this function of bearing children since preservation of the family line is her sacred responsibility.

The triumvirate of ignorance, superstition and bad midwifery, as in India, menaces her life and that of her children. To understand what this means one only needs to read the graphic description of a missionary nurse, Miss Nora Kellogg of Danforth Memorial Hospital, Kiukiang, summoned with a Chinese woman surgeon to attend the wife of an official. She found her patient "surrounded by every imaginable device to keep away the evil spirits: A hideous image outside the door, a huge fishnet from the ceiling over her bed, mirrors opposite it, an umbrella and boughs of a willow tree at the feet and four guns stacked in the corner." Such illustrations are typical of the health hazards of rural women. Old remedies and Chinese doctors are preferred to modern medicine and hospitals. Even if by chance a rural woman has entered the missionary hospital in the area shortly before the Chinese New Year, she must leave before that begins. To be in the hospital at that time would bring evil all the year. She must visit the temple, not the hospital, to please the gods. Superstition also dominates the village woman's idea of religion. Shrines to "unknown drowned aunts" or "the stone that moves itself" or "field gods" found everywhere in rural China testify to the mistaken faith in the unseen and to the fear of evil spirits. The idea of a God of love is an utterly foreign idea.

Illiteracy has been accepted in China as in India as the natural destiny of the village girl, so much so that the name commonly used for girl is the wine jar, indica-

tive of the gift from the family of the fiancé at the time of her betrothal; whereas the term for boy is student, indicating the prevailing idea that a boy must be educated. The education of a boy is recognized as an economic asset, hence even boys of poor families are sent to school. A girl's education is unnecessary, for her main goal is marriage. Long accustomed to the idea that girls or women are not supposed to learn, they have little idea that learning would be possible. Furthermore, girls must work either at home or in the fields, sharing in the family support. If you have travelled outside the port cities, which are after all little more than the façade of the real country which lies beyond, you cannot speak of China without calling to mind the figures of Chinese women bending over at work in the fields or swinging along the narrow boundary paths or on the roads with their heavy burdens, balanced from the long bamboo poles. These hard working Chinese peasant women are one of the chief economic assets of China.

Women in rural Japan, as has been mentioned before, are on a different level from the women of the rest of rural Asia. The nation-wide movement of literacy has achieved the ideal declared in the slogan which was adopted half a century ago. "Let education so permeate the whole nation that there shall be no unlettered house in any village, nor one illiterate member in any household."² A reading public among village girls and women all over Japan means that rural life is linked with the life of the nation.

The Young Women's Associations all over Japan,

² Miss Ai Hoshino, "The Education of Women," *The Japanese Council Institute of Pacific Relations*, 1929, p. 7.

even in remote areas, are an educative influence. The constant migration of rural girls in some sections into factory life for a few years and then back into the village means a steady flow of new ideas. The extension of communication over a large part of Japan has knit city and country more closely together. But in spite of all these unifying influences there remains a real difference between urban and village life as a whole and especially in the less frequented districts, as in northern Japan. As in India and in China, though in far less degree, rural Japan shows little change in comparison with the transformation of the great cities.

You need only travel three hours from Tokyo to Shimotsuma in Ibaraki Ken to find an entirely different atmosphere, which is thoroughly Japanese and much less affected by modern or Western influence than is Tokyo. The old calendar is still used, a month behind the new, which is symbolic of the different tempo of life. Old social customs also prevail; for example, the question as to whether girls make their own choice in marriage without the go-between elicited immediately the shocked reply, "Certainly not. No family here would allow such a disgrace." The old rules of etiquette are much more meticulously observed and old social customs more carefully cherished in these unhurried places than in the kaleidoscopic life of Tokyo.

Religious ideas also have been little changed. In Japan, as elsewhere in the Orient, modern religious thought has not reached the village woman, her faith is simple and sincere, and deeply tinged with superstition. A typical example is that of the woman who promised a certain god that if her very sick baby recovered, she would make a pilgrimage to the shrine

sacred to this special god. The child was spared, but the mother was unable to keep her vow until twenty years later when she journeyed to the shrine to thank the god.

In many ways the life of rural women in Japan is little different today from what it was several decades ago. From early morning till late at night they are engrossed in home duties, preparing meals over smoky wood fires, raising large families, caring for parents-in-law, sweeping and scrubbing constantly on hands and knees, washing and sewing endlessly as laundry is done every day, not just on Monday, and besides kimonos must be ripped up and re-sewed each time. Besides this, women often with a baby on their backs work in the rice fields, wading knee-deep in the mud transplanting with infinite care and skill each blade of rice. During the silkworm season they concentrate on feeding mulberry leaves to the silkworms which require and receive more delicate care than the baby.

For themselves and their children Japanese village women receive better medical care than women of India or China, as midwifery is on a definitely higher level. But medical facilities in Japan as elsewhere in the Orient are inadequate in areas remote from the railway. The young primary school principal in the mountain village of Tase, who carried a sick baby on his back for five miles to the nearest village and found when he arrived that the baby had already died, is a pathetic illustration of the dearth of medical service in rural districts off the beaten track.

Although village life in the East, especially in India or China, seems unchanged and is unchanged judging by the American idea of progress, here and there a

new quiver of life is felt. What is happening today in urban areas may not be seen tomorrow in rural Asia but will eventually find its repercussion there. Those who know village life well, as for example Mr. Darling, an authority on rural conditions in the Punjab, point out trends of change. In villages of North India, here and there a window or a chimney, a cement floor, or a slightly cleaner house appears, or perhaps the grain is ground by a machine instead of by a woman. Women begin to wear less jewelry and cut down on the excessive wedding expenditure, due to the effect of the Better Living Society established in some of the villages, for village economy largely depends on the women. The expenditure for social customs and for jewelry is determined by them and constitutes a heavy drain on the family purse. Every woman, however poor, has always had her quota of anklets and toe-rings, necklaces and bracelets, nose rings and other ornaments, not merely to gratify feminine vanity, but to ensure for herself something for the future, since her jewels are the woman's only bank account. These expenditures have brought many homes under the heavy burden of debt. In order to break this economic bondage, the government of the Punjab has aggressively promoted women's cooperative and thrift societies, since women largely control the family purse.

There is very little change in the attitude toward purdah, but it is often a topic of conversation, and even a few dare to oppose it. Slowly the number of people using hospitals increases as superstitious fears are allayed. There are even signs of change in regard to birth control, although fatalism as to the size of families is dominant. But the proverb "Too much rain

reduces the crop: too many sons bring reproach"³ quoted by a Sikh peasant represents the new attitude beginning slowly to encroach on the old.

Through an increase in busses the village and the town in India are being brought together and village women, as well as men, are beginning to travel. The country fair or mela with its model health exhibit and baby show leaves its impress on the crowds of women attending it and some new ideas, without doubt, percolate back into the village.

Changes not unlike these appear in China. In a village near Macao, which is within the range of influence from Hongkong, some one comments on the fact that the husband walks with his wife and carries the baby, and not as formerly, either alone or in front of his wife. People are becoming conscious that there may be something worthwhile outside the village. Formerly they were entirely satisfied with their own village world; now some at least recognize that there is something to be learned, and much to be gained from the outside. This idea dawns first on the men's minds and then eventually reaches the women. The greatest force for change in rural China is the Mass Education Movement promoted at Tingsien by James Yen. Following his example, efforts are being made all over China to spread literacy. Through the one thousand character classes carried on by many agencies, missions, Y.W.C.A. and other organizations, the mysteries of the printed page have been unlocked. For older women to be taught to read has seemed nothing short of a miracle. As the Buddhist abbott in

³ Malcolm Lyall Darling, *Rusticus Loquitur*, p. 39. Oxford University Press, London, 1929.

Wuchang said in addressing a group of village women, flood refugees, who had been taught to read by the Y.W.C.A., "It is as if your teachers had taught the blind to see, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to talk, for your eyes can now scan a printed page and find meaning there, you can listen with understanding to things formerly unintelligible and you have found new ways to express yourselves." The steady spread of literacy must eventually bring far-reaching changes in rural China.

Through the steady influence of education, as has been said, the permeation of modern ideas in Japan is inevitable. The primary school with well-trained teachers and education required for both boys and girls extends its influence beyond the railroad and main-travelled roads. Women's magazines are widely circulated and bring girls and women, even in secluded mountain districts, in touch with the world. Through this channel a club of country girls in a mountain village off the railway gained the idea that they must learn foreign sewing and make some Western style clothes. They made a petition to the young principal of the primary school to secure a teacher for them. Very shortly a young Japanese sewing teacher from Morika arrived in foreign clothes herself and ready to instruct the village. The desire for foreign clothes is only one concrete evidence of the general educational and social process which is slowly changing the life of Japanese women in rural areas.

The importance of these millions of village women of Asia can scarcely be over-estimated as they represent the great foundation of the life of the Orient. Under-privileged, hard working, accepting without

protest what the world offers, and giving without question of their life's energy, they constitute the richest assets of every country of the Orient. This fact, however, has been but dimly realized and the development of these assets has received only scant attention. "A wealth of capacity—now largely wasted" is the statement of the Simon Commission, emphasizing the potential power of Indian womanhood. This compelling utterance adequately describes the women of rural Asia as a whole. Such a phrase is also indicative of the task ahead if progress in Asia is to be based on solid foundations.

The imperative necessity of working for the uplift of village women is just beginning to be recognized throughout the Orient by government officials, foreign workers, and Eastern leaders. Few would dispute the truth of Mr. Darling's statement that "A clean village and an educated woman are the Alpha and Omega of village progress." But as yet few educated leaders, either men or women, have entered rural service. Today the appeal of this field of effort is gaining force, especially in India, from its identification with the spirit of nationalism.

A Hindu leader, Mrs. Vishalakshi, makes a trenchant call to sacrificial effort in rural India as a national duty, which reflects the new spirit of the Orient. "An army of workers is needed everywhere, in all departments of institutions and in all villages, who will be full of this spirit of self-losing service of others, ever seeking, praying, planning and working for the welfare of others regardless of self. To counteract and eradicate on the one hand, ignorance and distrust, starvation, and ill-health, on the other hand, the self-interest and

callousness to national suffering in most of those whose duty it is to serve with love and devotion—to counteract and reform these, a large volume of soul-force, love and the spirit of self-loving service has to be poured forth in all possible places. This is essentially and peculiarly the woman's province. She will do it with a thoroughness, devotion, and patient persistence of which men are not capable. Will the Indian educated women and women of position fill this national need?"⁴

Such a statement is highly significant since it gives evidence that the needs and potential values of rural Asia are entering the consciousness of educated women leaders. If the small enlightened minority, less than two per cent in India and China, forges ahead without concern for the masses, there will be no fundamental advance since the ninety-eight per cent are, in the last analysis, the controlling power of the Orient. By their inherent strength and by the sheer force of numbers, they will dominate the Eastern scene, even though they may not be in the immediate foreground. But the small group of educated women leaders in the East, who are eagerly responding to every opportunity for advance, will have an importance out of all proportion to their present numbers, if they realize the latent capacity of rural Asia and seek to develop it. Slowly life in rural Asia will move toward a higher level if the intensely active minority of enlightened Eastern women shares its privileges with the great phlegmatic majority of village women of the Orient.

⁴ "Women's Place in Nation Building," *Stri Dharma*, January, 1931.

PART II

The Relationship of Christian Missions to the Development of Women in the New Day

CHAPTER IX

The Contribution of Christianity

It is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

—St. Luke xiii-21.

As we witness the drama of change which is affecting the life of women in the East in all of its phases, we naturally ask what has been the role of missions. This is a question of great interest. Missions stand today at the doorway of the future and may well pause and look back at the years of past effort for women in the Orient. No other field of mission endeavor calls forth such spontaneous appreciation. But to segregate the influences affecting women in the Eastern world is scarcely possible. A composite of many forces is slowly producing fundamental changes in the life of the Orient. Christian influence is so interrelated with these forces and has become so widely diffused through the East today that it does not stand out in striking relief.

As Miss Michi Kawai, one of the outstanding Christian leaders of Japan, says, in speaking of Christian

influence in Japan, "It is impossible to answer with scientific exactness how far Christianity has influenced Japanese life. Like leaven in the lump; or like salt, it is melted in the substance which it savors. The value of salt and leaven lies in the fact of thus losing themselves in the materials in which they are to work; and so it is with Christianity, which influences whatever it touches but without any conscious signs. One sees this in the history of any society of any nation regardless of time and place."¹ In speaking of India in a personal letter a Christian leader in Bombay expresses the same idea, "It is very difficult to analyze the effect of Christianity on India's life and thought. India has gradually absorbed so much of it into its own life without realizing or acknowledging it and it has become so much a part and parcel of India that one cannot separate it."

In India the permeating effects of Christian thought are evident in the steady development of a public opinion imbued with the social ideals of Christianity. The aggressive spirit of reform of the present day owes its immediate impetus unquestionably to the political aspirations of India. But the present moment represents the fruition of a long period of widespread seed sowing of social ideas to which Christian influence has undoubtedly contributed greatly. The idea that a nation is weak which has one-half the population inactive has become current belief in no small measure because of the Christian emphasis on the development of women. Undoubtedly the impact of Christianity has helped greatly to establish certain standards, both by directly attacking vice and social evils, and by co-

¹ Michi Kawai, "The Social Life of Japan Influenced by Christianity," *Japanese Mission Year Book*, 1929, pp. 214-215.

operating in progressive social reforms. Through their moral support given to Indian leaders, Christian workers have steadily helped to create an atmosphere favorable to social advance.

Meeting with Indian leaders, men and women of different shades of opinion and different religions, one is impressed with the frequent expression of opinion like the following: "Christianity and contact with Christian missions has changed the social outlook. The idea of orphanages, hospitals, rescue work, and depressed classes was given by Christianity. All of these matters now find a prominent place in women's conferences but missionaries have been the pioneers; their contribution to the raising of ethical standards—which after all is the mainspring of all social reform activity—can not be forgotten." Mr. Venkatasubbaya, a member of the Servants of India Society in Madras, emphasizes the Christian effort for the depressed classes, which "is creating a profound change in the higher castes toward their less fortunate brothers and inducing them to adopt various measures for their amelioration." An Indian editor sums up the influence of Christianity in "bringing back to Indian womanhood liberty well recognized in the past but lost in later times. . . . There is no doubt that Christianity and Christian missions gave an impetus to the advance of freedom among Indian women; first to Christian Indians and then spreading through them to the other sections of Indian nationality. The giving up of some evils like child marriage and the non-marriage of widows, superstitious observances, orthodox customs and backward habits; a wider scope of thought; a freer social atmosphere and more happy intercourse

between men and women; the encouragement of independence among women and of a desire to earn their own livelihood; and the opening of outlets of work for women have been among the effects of Christianity in India." Of the influence of Christianity on the development of women in Burma, Doctor Ma Saw Sa, the pioneer woman doctor of Burma, a Christian, makes the convincing statement, "There is no doubt that the Christian influence in Burmese life, working quietly in scattered places in relatively small quantities, has slowly and gradually lifted life to a higher level, making people think and do things in terms of Christian ideals in spite of themselves."

More, however, by the example of creative missionary personality than by any direct program of welfare has Christian influence permeated deeply the life of the East. A typical expression of recognition of missionary service is the tribute of Sister Subbalakshui, head of the well-known Hindu Widow's Home in Madras, when she says, "I have very great respect and admiration for missionaries. Our people need to learn many lessons from them. . . . With that same spirit and religious fervor we ought to work among our own people. This is the lecture and advice I often give to my Hindu sisters and brothers."

Into the life of China, Christian influence has also permeated deeply and acted as a regenerative force for gradual uplift. Christian missions have undoubtedly aided in the promotion of certain social reforms such as the abolition of foot-binding, infanticide and the slave girl practice. Through the efforts of Christian Chinese leaders as well as non-Christian leaders, who

have been in contact with Christian thought as expressed in the West, the new constitution of China is under-girded with Christian ideals of monogomy, equality of moral standards and educational opportunity. In evaluating the effect of Christian missions in China, Dr. Wu, President of Ginling College, stresses the interrelationship of the influence of Christianity and Western civilization. "In my own mind," she writes "it is quite difficult to distinguish what are the effects of Christian missions in China and what are the effects from the contact with Western civilization in general. I do not mean at all that they are identical, but rather that what the missions started, such as modern education and equality between men and women, non-Christian and liberal Chinese leaders have promoted also, especially since 1900 and 1911. The significant contribution from Christianity is, it seems to me, the pioneering work in all things worthwhile, the genuine interest in the welfare of individuals, and the fact that Christianity especially values personality and appreciates the possibility of the common people."

The pervasive effects on China of Western civilization without any special reference to Christianity, Mrs. Sophia Chen Zen discusses in the "Symposium of Chinese Culture." The inflow of foreign influence, which must include all phases of influence, economic, political, cultural and religious, she likens to the currents from many rivers that have flowed into the upper stream of the Yangtze River, "some as great and life stirring as the Great River itself so that the water of that Great River in the middle stream is already a

highly composite product, retaining only a small percentage of the water at the head stream, although the river has never lost its continuity and integrity."

Summing up the results of a recent study of the influence of Christianity upon Japanese culture, which represents the written opinions of over two thousand people, Mr. Soichi Saito comments on the general effect of Christianity on social ideals, especially on the position of women, "Christianity's influence in raising the status of women is generally acknowledged. The same is true of the women's suffrage movement as well as in many other spheres, such as freedom of social intercourse between the sexes, leniency in connection with the second marriage of widows, reform in women's dress and the entrance of women into professional life. The influence of Christianity upon ethical thought in Japan is believed by many to be notable in such spheres as respect for individuality, the elevation of women's status and the idea of social justice and humanitarianism. These influences have purified family life and elevated the standards of morality. Christianity has also exerted a marked influence upon other religions in Japan. . . . Buddhists can not overlook the importance of Christian influence in helping to bring their educational and social work to its present scientific method and organization."² Labor legislation in Japan, as in China and India, is based on the Christian principle of respect for personality and the welfare of the individual. However imperfectly Christian nations

² *A Study of the Influence of Christianity upon Japanese Culture.* Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations 1931.

of the West may exemplify these ideals in practice, the fact remains that Christian ideals have been recognized as modern industrial standards in the new East.

As we have already shown in an earlier chapter, education for girls in the Orient is built on the foundation of mission schools. The pioneering effort of missions in each country paved the way for later educational developments. Except in the field of higher education the pioneering period of girls' education is past; the college field is still largely occupied by mission institutions. The principle of equality of opportunity for girls with boys, first introduced by missions, is now the adopted policy of government systems in the East. The equal emphasis of missions on education for girls and boys, in fact, often the greater attention devoted to girls' education, shown by the superior buildings and equipment and the teaching standards, which in mission schools for girls are often higher than in schools for boys, have deeply impressed the Eastern mind with the fact that Christian missions recognize equality of educational privileges for girls and boys. Splendid buildings of women's colleges throughout the Orient; for example Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow, the Woman's Christian College in Madras, the Vellore Medical School, Ginling College in Nanking, the Woman's Christian College plant in Tokyo and the beautiful new buildings of Kobe College are convincing, tangible evidences of the belief of missions in Christian education for women.

Although girls' education, except in the college stage, is now being assumed as governmental responsibility in the different countries in the East, Christian

missions are still making an impressive contribution³ both in extent of educational facilities and in quality. Differentiated from government schools in the intimacy of relationship between students and teachers and the emphasis on character building, these mission institutions from Bombay to Tokyo have contributed intangible values. Each mission school for girls bears the impress of some great personality. At tea in the gov-

³ The proportion of mission education for girls to the total education for girls in India is shown by the following table:

<i>School</i>	<i>Percentage of Mission Schools to Total Schools</i>	<i>Percentage of Enrollment in Mission Schools to Total Enrollment</i>
Primary	4%	8%
Middle	33	31
High	45	44
College	50	56
Teachers' Training	48	53

R. Littlehales, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II, 1922-27.

The Christian female population is 18% literate in comparison with the total female literacy of 1.8%. 1921 Census.

The proportion of mission education for girls to the total education for girls in Burma is shown by the following table:

<i>School</i>	<i>Percentage of Mission Schools to Total Number of Schools</i>	<i>Percentage of Enrollment in Mission Schools to Total Enrollment</i>
Primary	5%	6%
Middle	39	44
High	87	92
Teachers' Training	17	43

R. Littlehales, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II, 1922-27.

The Christian female population is 28% literate in comparison with the total female literacy of 9.7%. 1921 Census.

Comparative statistics are not available for China but missions have carried a large proportion of the secondary schools. Christian efforts in rural areas are being concentrated on education of the masses.

Mission secondary education for girls in Japan represents only the very small percentage today of eight per cent due to the remarkable educational advance of the government system in the last few decades. In 1907 there were 46 high schools under missions and 108 under the government; in 1928, 50 under missions and 580 under the government.

Statistics furnished by Kobe College.

ernment normal school in Tokyo, a prominent woman educator said, "I shall never forget what it meant to me to have the missionary principal of my school pack my trunk when I left to go to Bryn Mawr College. Her friendly interest I cherished through my college years. To have her attend my commencement meant to me more than I can express." The value of such friendship and personal interest shown by the principal and teachers in the Christian school was to her the thing that has made it different from a government institution—more than a mere school.

A Hindu woman in India, the wife of one of the delegates to the Round Table Conference in London, mentions the fact that her first vision of the ideal of international brotherhood came through a Christian teacher in an English literature class. Another Hindu woman, distinguished for her service to India, says that one of the main sources of her inspiration in public life has always been the steadfast, fearless willingness to sacrifice everything to Truth, which as a child, she had admired in a missionary teacher. Mrs. Kubushiro says of her school, the Joshi Gakuin in Tokyo, "Our teachers lived with us girls in the dormitories, and for many years they devoted themselves to training and influencing us and other generations of students. By learning English our eyes were opened to appreciate the rest of the world. We gained the idea of the unity and interdependence of nations, a family in which Japan is one member. The Bible was basic in our education. Madame Yajima often said, 'Young ladies, you have the Bible, therefore we make no rules for the dormitory.' " Through such intimate personal influences, mission

girls' schools in the Orient have left their impress on hundreds or rather thousands of girls.

The contribution made in mission education to the training of teachers is widely recognized. Mr. V. N. Mehta, a prominent Brahman, Secretary of Education to the Government of the United Provinces, expresses his appreciation of the distinctive values in mission institutions for teacher training. "It is here that Christian missions have their part to play, namely, the training of teachers, both Christian and non-Christian. I have not the slightest doubt that Christian institutions are bound to turn out the best type of woman teacher with a personality and call for teaching. I need hardly say that no effort should be made to proselytize the students. But the example of the Christian life—Christianity practiced before their eyes will always be the guiding light." This guiding light in the Christian school may bring the awakening of responsibility to girls who later may hold positions of great importance, not only in professional life, but in their own homes. Certain schools like the McTyeire School in Shanghai and the Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko (Canadian School) in Tokyo have exerted a special type of influence through some of their graduates, who are wives of diplomats or of prominent public men.

Or perhaps the mission school, such as many in rural India, may bring to an outcaste girl her awakening to a fuller life of joy and usefulness. Of the development of a girl like this, a missionary in South India gives a picture which could in essence be reproduced in other parts of India:

"One among a quiver full of children from an outcaste village, she came to the mission boarding

school just an ordinary pupil from a most ordinary family; her mother, illiterate, and her father, a cook. At first dull and unresponsive, later she awoke to the wonder and beauty of the world, and learned to feel, to think and to question. Her high school education and normal training were completed at great sacrifice to her family, who realized that the daughter was different; as they often said, '*We are the mud, but she is the lotus.*' Then came quiet, inconspicuous years of teaching in a Hindu day school and the experience of winning her way, though an outcaste, into the high caste homes of her pupils through their affection for her. Later, as a missionary's assistant she helped to supervise schools in over a hundred villages, examining classes, giving model lessons, teaching games, telling stories and everywhere winning affection. Then her marriage to the pastor of her town ended one type of service and began another. As a model housewife she is creating a Christian home but she still retains her love of working with people, is head of the social service center of the town, has organized the Girl Guides and travels with her husband in the villages.

"What has her Christian experience meant? Education, uplift, service, the fuller life. What a loss to the new India when women of such gifts are left undiscovered in an outcaste village."

But much of the educational work of the Christian missionary is outside the regular channels of schools. Hidden away in the zenanas of India or in the back courtyards of China are many women for whom the

friendly missionary is the only link with the outside world. What a revealing glimpse of steady persistent effort is given in this sentence from a letter of an older missionary in India, "We teach them in their homes; they can not attend schools. Only one woman in a thousand can read." It is impossible to recount all that the compound interest of the years of such loving devoted service has brought to women whose lives are closed books. To such contacts of missionaries in zenanas of the higher class the emergence of some of the present women leaders in India may be traced. At the time of one of the All-India Women's Conferences, in the city where the conference was being held, a prominent judge privately expressed his appreciation for the pioneer work of several Christian women who, fifty years ago, with difficulty gained the opportunity of visiting in the zenanas of one or two of the high class non-Christian homes. Through their unremitting efforts and patient sympathy, these Christian leaders have led the women of these homes into such outstanding leadership as was shown at the Woman's Conference.

Quite a different type of Christian educational service is the literacy program in China of which Miss Highbaugh of Changli gives an interesting illustration:

"The whole town, or such portion of it as could get in, was gathered in the front room of the Miao home. The third son of the five adult sons of the Miao clan was a Christian. He had invited the Christian group to his home in the hope of establishing a Mass Education class in his village. After

little groups of women, sitting on the brick bed, had been taught a few characters to prove to them that they could learn, and the whole group had learned a little song about how harmony and love were the basis of a good home, the crowd was invited to listen to some talks on the value of education for women in the home. Then the question was asked as to whether they would like to start a Mass Education class in their village. The women nodded vigorous approval but a satin-gowned gentleman, the head of the village, opposed women's education saying that it was bad for the morale in the home as they were difficult to control after having learned to read. But it was too late. A few women had found out that they could learn.

"A year later, after the first class had been graduated as literate citizens (time had to be counted out for summer heat and work and new babies, et cetera), the men of that town sent a special invitation for the supervisor of adult religious education to come to their village. Again the crowd gathered. After a somewhat formal meeting, the leading men of the village asked the supervisor if there were not some way in which the Church could help them carry on till some of their own people knew enough to teach. 'The women are so changed,' they said. 'They don't swear, and they don't quarrel so much in the home; and some of them who were fear-ridden seem to be free from that. They have conversation material and are a delight in the home.'

"And now after three years some of their own

women are teaching the classes in that village and many of them are earnest Christians and the end is not yet."

The various types of Christian educational efforts for women of the Orient have called forth the spontaneous recognition of Eastern leaders. Doctor Muthulakshmi Reddi's appreciation of mission education in India, expressed at the All-India Conference at Lahore, represents the opinion of many others. "I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not offer a word of tribute to the several missionary educational organizations who have been the pioneers in every province in the cause of female education. The woman population of this country has been placed under a deep gratitude to the several missionary agencies for their valuable contribution to educational uplift of Indian women. I honestly think that they have done more for the women's education in this country than the Government itself."⁴

Comparable to the contribution of Christian education in the East, is the development of the mission medical service for women. Attention has already been called to the fact that the history of the development of hospitals, child welfare, maternity care, the training of nurses and midwives, medical education and health education in India and China can only be written in

⁴ Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Presidential Address, All-India Women's Conference, 1931, Lahore. (Dr. Reddi was formerly Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council and Woman Member of the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission on Education (The Hartog Commission)).

terms of missionary effort.⁵ In Japan, due to the splendid government provisions for medical care, the extension of the mission medical service has not been an urgent necessity as in India and China. St. Barnabas Hospital in Osaka and St. Luke's International Medical Center in Tokyo have made a distinctive contribution through the training of nurses. The training of public health nurses at St. Luke's College of Nursing is an unique service which has been greatly appreciated.

⁵ *In India.* The extent of mission medical service for women is shown by the fact that out of approximately 400 women doctors in hospitals, 150 are women missionaries. *Simon Commission Report*, Vol. I, par. 69.

Out of 183 zenana hospitals, in 1927, 93 were mission hospitals. Dr. Margaret I. Balfour and Dr. Rugh Young, *The Work of Medical Women in India*, p. 82. Oxford University Press.

The proportion of 98 hospitals for women, 78 for men and 17 unclassified, shows the importance of the mission medical service for women. In 1930 foreign workers in the mission personnel included 210 women and 133 men doctors. *Survey of Medical Missions in India*, pp. 18-19, Christian Medical Ass'n, Prayer Cycle, Aug., 1930.

Out of a total number of women medical students in 1928-29, 43% were in mission institutions (179 in mission and 234 in non-mission schools). *Report of Countess of Dufferin's Fund*, 1929-30.

In India. Medical education for women in India includes: 4 women's medical schools (2 government and 2 mission—the Missionary Medical School for Women at Vellore and the Women's Christian Medical School at Ludhiana), 1 woman's college (the Lady Hardinge Government College at Delhi) and 13 coeducational medical schools and colleges (all government—1 for men).

In Burma. The Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital for women in Moulmein is the only mission hospital for women in Burma which has nurses in training. Their graduates are serving in 20 different centers.

In China. China has 6 mission medical colleges; 3 co-educational and 2 women's colleges (Hackett Medical College, Canton; and the Women's Christian Medical College, Shanghai). Half of the hospitals in China are mission institutions. A number of these are women's hospitals but the medical care of women in China has not, as in India, been limited to separate institutions.

In 1931, 3,000 nurses were in training in mission hospitals. Of the 136 registered training schools all but five are under missions.

In 1931, there were 82 women missionary doctors out of a total of 304, and 256 foreign missionary nurses.

Fact Finders Report on China for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, 1931. (Unpublished) pp. 380-383, 362.



CHINESE WOMEN LEADERS OF THE FUTURE
Ginling College, Nanking, China

A visit to a zenana hospital in North India leaves an indelible impression of scientific service rendered in the spirit of love, which eventually breaks down superstition and fear. A day with Doctor Ida Scudder of Vellore in the Roadside Dispensary work gives one an intimate sense of being in the very atmosphere of healing as in the New Testament. "He healeth them of their divers diseases," comes constantly to one's mind as the people who have been waiting under a tree by the roadside, perhaps for hours before the doctor arrives, crowd around her and press their needs upon her. The automobile and equipment, the well-trained young Indian nurses and doctors under Doctor Scudder's friendly counsel are all of the twentieth century but the loving ministry of healing of human needs is in the spirit of the Great Physician.

In the past the contribution of medical missions has been made largely by the splendid service of the women missionaries. The permanent legacy of the future will be the growing number of young women doctors and nurses inspired with Christian ideals for the service of their people. What these trained workers will mean to the women of rural areas, one can see from a brief sentence out of a letter from a missionary in North China, "Did I mention Miss T'an who is doing the midwife's job so well at the little market town of An Ke Chuang? With her clean scissors and cotton she is pushing some of the dirty midwives with their thumb nail and earth out of business."

The inspiration to service in untrodden paths is shown by one of the Hackett Medical College graduates, Doctor Hoi Poh Yiu. Challenged by the news, "No Chinese doctor in my old home town," she said,

"That fact led me to refuse offers in Canton and take the week's journey up to the little mountain town where I had been born, to begin medical practice there. I opened up the Presbyterian Mission Hospital which had been closed. I did what I could for the male patients as well as for the women and children. About three hundred babies were born in the two years I was there. The missionary head nurse started to teach four girls to do nurses' work the first year I was there. Her transfer elsewhere left the girls to me and I did what I could for them." Graduate doctors and nurses like this splendid Chinese woman from mission institutions in the Orient are carrying forward the Christian medical service, of which the foundations have been so well laid.

These trained Eastern women leaders, both Christians and non-Christians, are the most convincing evidence of the achievement of Christian missions in the Orient.⁶ They hold positions of distinction as college presidents, government school inspectresses, directors of hospitals and heads of national women's movements. In terms of individual personalities, not merely

⁶ The *Who's Who for China* in 1930-31 shows that 16 of the 21 women mentioned were educated in mission schools. Thirteen of the 16 are active in Christian work.

A study of women graduates from some of the mission colleges in the Orient (although not a complete record) shows the influence of mission education; they represent a fair cross-section of the trained leadership of Eastern women.

India: Of 411 graduates (339 Christian, 72 non-Christian), 252 are in professional life, 39 have studied abroad.

Burma: Of 29 graduates of Judson College (20 Christian, 9 non-Christian), 17 have entered professions, 2 have studied abroad.

China: Of 222 graduates from Christian colleges, 215 are in professions, 41 have studied abroad (26 of these in America).

Japan: Of 305 graduates (180 Christian, 125 non-Christian) from colleges, 125 are in professions, 21 have studied abroad.

in totals of college graduates, the Christian influence in the East today commands attention. In India, Christian leadership among women includes such creative personalities as: Doctor K. M. Bose, head of a zenana mission hospital; Miss Cornelia Sorabji, the noted pioneer woman lawyer of India; Miss Gertrude Roy, a social worker; Mrs. Rithavadian (Lily Devasahayam) formerly of St. Christopher's Training College; Miss Ruby Novalkar, the warden of the University Settlement Hostel in Bombay and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, a prominent leader of the Woman's Movement in India. In Burma one immediately thinks of Doctor Ma Saw Sa, the pioneer Burmese woman doctor. Chinese leaders like Doctor Yi-fang Wu, President of Ginling College and Miss Lucy Wang, President of Hwa Nan College; Miss Shu-Ching Ting, National Secretary of the Y.W.C.A., and Doctor Marian Yang, Director of the Government School for Midwifery in Peiping, Mrs. C. C. Chen, an active leader in the Christian movement and Mme. Chiang Kai Sheh of national influence, would be recognized for outstanding leadership in any country. In Korea, Doctor Helen Kim, Dean of Ewha College, leads the women of her country. The Christian movement in Japan counts among its Christian leaders Mrs. Kubushiro and Mrs. Gauntlett, promoters of the W.C.T.U.; Miss Tetsuo Yasui, President of the Woman's Christian College, and Mrs. Motoko Hani, the great educator; Mrs. Uemura, a Presbyterian minister, and Miss Michi Kawai, known for outstanding general leadership and especially as a champion of peace.

With such a body of Christian women leaders in the Orient, together with the great unnamed number of

women, who in less conspicuous paths of service are radiating Christian influence in the life around them, the Christian movement today may well feel a consciousness of past achievement. There can be little question of the potent influence Christian missions have exerted in lifting the status of Eastern women. Missionary effort has helped to change the attitude of the East concerning women and the attitude of women toward themselves. It has aided in the development in each country of Christian leaders, who have demonstrated by achievement what many women of the East might accomplish, if their handicaps were removed and their opportunities multiplied. In this effective Christian leadership among Eastern women rests the future promise of the Christian movement in the Orient.

"NEW OCCASIONS TEACH NEW DUTIES"

As the Mission Movement for Women looks toward the future, it is conscious not only of splendid accomplishment but of new responsibilities. The present achievement of Missions in having helped to lead women into a larger sphere of activity now constitutes the most serious consideration for the future. Mission effort has unlocked new doors of opportunity for women of the Orient but with these expanding opportunities have come new demands and more complex problems. The forward movement of Eastern women makes it necessary for Christian Missions likewise to advance to meet the larger needs of a new day. This presents a task in readjustment. The missionary enterprise today faces a very different situation from that which the pioneer missionary, or those of a later period, found in the Orient. The contribution of Christian missions through the great pioneering period up until the present time is, as we have shown, unquestioned. But the success of the past is not a guarantee of the accomplishment of the future. Continued achievement will in no small measure be determined by the ability of Christian effort to make the necessary adjustment to the new environment and to the new needs of the changing East.

The demand for a reorientation of the mission task for the future is in no sense a reflection on the past. It is rather an obligation of the present, in order that the missionary pioneers may not have labored in vain. The modern missionary must meet the needs of a modern world in the same spirit of courageous adventure which has ever been the secret of the mission movement. As Doctor Leighton Stewart of Yenching

University said in a recent discussion on missions, "We are not the successors of the early pioneers, if we do not find methods as suitable for our time as they did for theirs." It would indeed be strange if a program and technique which fitted the secluded life of the past could fill the needs of the Eastern woman today. If there were no need for change in method and type of service after a hundred years or more of mission effort that fact in itself would be a most serious indictment against the mission movement. The need for change is, therefore, an evidence of growth and of future promise.

That the task of readjustment seems to some missionaries to present almost insurmountable difficulties is not strange. The reaction of an elderly missionary doctor in the Punjab, a rare personality widely known and much beloved, is typical of many other missionaries. "We missionaries stand appalled before the answers our prayers have brought. The first prayer I heard offered in India, after I reached this field, over forty years ago, was that God would break down the walls and let the women free. The walls are not all broken down, but shattered. All the years that we prayed that prayer, we did not have any idea what it would mean to India." A missionary in China makes a pertinent comment on the difficulties of the new situation. "I feel like one accustomed to driving a Ford in the country who has been induced to attempt a larger high-powered car. I find myself suddenly in the midst of heavy city traffic with many unknown driving rules. Each difficulty is passed by the Grace of God, not by my own proficiency."

Many workers in the mission field have this sense

of baffled bewilderment in finding the old technique scarcely adequate for the present complex situation. Many others seem scarcely aware of any change in the problem. But a growing number of missionaries in each country of the Orient realize the need of re-thinking the mission task, and recognize the danger to the Christian movement if it lags behind the general current of Oriental life. Eastern leaders, both Christian and non-Christian, who are most appreciative of the contribution of Christian missions in the past, urge the importance of their being more closely attuned to the rapidly changing environment of the Orient.

In order that mission effort may be harmonized with present needs and future possibilities, careful far-sighted planning is not only a necessity but an obligation. Mr. A. A. Paul, a well-known Indian Christian leader of Madras, expresses forcibly the conviction that "one of the highest privileges of a Christian—in fact, of any religious man—is to look into the future with God's insight and plan for his future work in India. It is only in God's presence that we can see real visions. It is unbecoming a Christian to wait and see how things develop and then make necessary changes."

Such a process of readjustment as the present transitional period in the Orient requires does not mean a change in objective. The impelling purpose of Christian missions will always be the sharing of the "Abundant Life" which the Christian finds in Christ. The desire to express the Christian spirit of love and service and to share with others the highest spiritual benefits will lead the woman missionary in the future, as in the past, to venture beyond the narrow limits of her own country and her own people. But the form and

manner in which these gifts are offered and shared can scarcely remain static. The great fundamental purpose of mission effort will not change, but in order that this may be conserved, a technique of change is necessary in all the different specific lines of missionary effort.

CHAPTER X

New Opportunities for Christian Education

Where knowledge is free; . . .

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit; . . .

Where the mind is led forward into ever-widening thought and action—

—Gitanjali, by Rabindranath Tagore.

TO talk with a missionary educator who has a vision of the opportunities for Christian education is a stimulating experience, as one can see many avenues of larger service. These do not, however, lead into unoccupied territory in order to establish new schools as in the pioneering days, but across new frontiers of thought to find a more creative interpretation of education for girls. The period of extension of Christian schools has ended; the period of explorative thinking has scarcely begun. Girls in the East should be prepared to meet the larger demands of their new freedom. The best that the West has to offer today in creative educational ideals is needed in the Orient in order that the Eastern girl may be fitted for her life situation.

Obviously a more careful study of the distinctive needs of Eastern girls of today is needed. Education has been too much of an automatic process, running all girls through the same mold, directed toward preparation for college, although only twenty-five per cent or less of the girls in secondary schools enter college. Unquestionably the education of this minority is of very great importance since it represents the

trained professional leadership of women in the East. To increase the number of well-trained college women must remain a specialized field of Christian effort, which is still, as has been shown, a pioneering service. But what of the seventy-five per cent or more whose school years end with the high school course or earlier?

An over-crowded curriculum meeting government requirements (primarily designed for boys' schools) and stereotyped methods, which seem to be the inevitable result of the curriculum, have left girls' schools little chance for creative education in home values. As one glances over the girls' schools in the Orient, one finds surprisingly few which have given special attention to preparing girls for marriage, although this career still claims the majority. A charming Indian bride bemoaned the fact that she knew so little of home-making. She was fortunate enough to have her individual home, but was unprepared for the great adventure. The mission boarding school she had attended had given her little home training. She had no knowledge of child care or home hygiene. She is unfortunately not an isolated example. Training for home-making is especially needed today because girls who are married now will have the advantage of freedom from the mother-in-law's régime, together with the full responsibility for home-making and rearing the children.

Whether in the boarding school, as in India and China, or in the day school as in Japan, the teaching of home-making in the Orient offers a fascinating field of research and experimentation in this day of shifting standards. How can modern ideas be applied in an Eastern environment is the question which confronts the teacher of domestic science. Too few have tried to

find the answer. "We don't visit enough in our student's homes. We only know American methods," was the frank confession of a young American teacher in a mission school in China. It is not strange then that much of the teaching of sewing and cooking and home-science has been on Western lines, as it were, in vacuo, with no relationship to home needs. The introduction of the cottage system of living has aided in giving reality to the teaching of home values; as in the girls' high schools in Chittoor and Sangla Hill in India.

One of the most interesting demonstrations of practical teaching of home-making is the simple cottage in connection with the Department of Home Economics at Ewha College in Seoul. Situated ten minutes' distance from the college compound, in the heart of a congested district, it has the reality of contact with everyday life. A small group under an instructor live in this attractive, spotlessly clean, Korean house, which in size and furnishing would be typical of the average middle-class family, but which has certain features that raise the usual level of living. The group has a baby under its care, an interesting opportunity for practical child training, which adds also to the home atmosphere. The cottage serves not only for the students as a training center, but is valuable for the community as a demonstration of a model home on a small scale. A number of other schools or colleges, which give special attention to the training of teachers for this important field of Home Economics, should be mentioned, notably: St. Christopher's Training College in Madras, Yen-ching in Peiping and Kobe College in Kobe. The wider interpretation of home-making in relation to commun-

ity life as given in Kobe College indicates a much needed line of development.

One of the serious problems which these schools all face is the shifting of home standards of the East and the West. In no country is this of more critical concern than in Japan. The growing popular taste for things Western makes it necessary for the young Japanese girl to learn two styles of living, each requiring its own technique. Most schools have tried to meet this double need by providing two different home science sections—the well-equipped Western style of kitchen with usually an attractive dining room for entertaining and two rooms in Japanese style, the one fitted with Japanese cooking arrangements, and the other an artistic reception room, with sliding screens, a floor covered with tatami (mats), the characteristic tokonoma, or niche of honor, with the special scroll and flower vase. In this charming room the Japanese school girl learns how to sit and bow, how to slide back the door very quietly, always stooping to open and close it, how to serve tea—in short, how to carry out the infinite details of Japanese etiquette with complete poise and charm. In the Western section she learns foreign cooking, perhaps how to make apple pie, and how to serve Western dishes in approved style. Obviously the Christian school has a distinctive opportunity in the field of Domestic Science. This consists, however, not merely in teaching the Western mode of living, but in studying the comparative values of the East and West, and in helping to select for the East those values that suit its special needs. Any teaching of Household Economics that does not take into account

the financial resources of the average Eastern home is obviously futile.

The increased opportunity for girls in the Orient in economic pursuits presents the Christian schools with an immediate need for vocational guidance and vocational training, both for those who have the privilege of a college education and for those who terminate their education with the secondary school. Christian schools, as we have already shown, have rendered service in training women for professions in teaching, medicine and nursing, but new fields are steadily opening for which women must be prepared. The business field offers opportunity for clerical work but there are as yet very meagre facilities for training. A few schools, here and there, are beginning training in this field; for example, Kwassui Junior College in Nagasaki. But as yet the sound of the typewriter is unfamiliar in girls' schools and the training courses in business, if there are any, are usually relegated to some rather out-of-the-way part of the building.

Health education on broader lines than merely physical exercise and formal gymnastics is recognized today by many educators as a necessity. Ginling College offers a splendid course in training for teachers in the broader field of health education, which includes more knowledge of the positive values of health and a more creative idea of recreation than the usual stereotyped courses. Other colleges also, for instance, Yenching University and Tokyo Woman's Christian College, have introduced this new emphasis. The Methodist Girl's School in Peiping shows an unusually progressive attitude toward physical education of girls in its emphasis on games as a preparation for later use of

leisure time. To give each girl proficiency in at least one form of recreation, which can be followed later outside of school, is the objective of this very carefully planned program. Miss Emma Kaufman of the Y.W.C.A. in Tokyo urges the necessity for the development of the field of creative physical education, emphasizing especially the preparation for the use of leisure time "through games, athletics, music, drama and social activities, all of which have real educational and carry-over value after school life."

The health program in schools should include more teaching of the principles of social hygiene. Such a program requires a closer cooperation between the Christian schools and hospitals, since health training can only be given effectively by specialists along these lines. Comparatively little has been done in the difficult and important field of social hygiene, but the need for teaching along this line is urged by some of the outstanding women missionaries of each country. The National Christian Council in India has a special committee to promote this program. In Japan Mrs. Olds of Okayama has carried on, under the W.C.T.U., a far-reaching program of lectures on sex hygiene in schools and in women's organizations in cities, and among groups of workers and factory girls in rural areas. Toward the teaching of this subject there is a prevailing attitude of conservatism in Christian schools.

An emphasis which should become a controlling objective in Christian education for girls is the closer correlation of the school with modern life. Of the majority of girls' schools in the Orient, Christian institutions as well as others, the prevailing criticism is

justly made that education is unrelated to life, a happy interlude, an experience not rooted in reality. How to establish a closer contact with the community is a serious question affecting all education but especially the education for girls.

In this connection Christian schools for girls are often criticized for their strong tendency toward Westernization, which alienates the Eastern student from her background. The West, not the East, has furnished the prevailing patterns of thought and action in mission schools. This has been evident in many ways—in types of buildings, in standards of living, in dress, in amusements, in forms of worship, and in language and general culture. The net result has been that many girls, after finishing a mission school, have reentered their home environment almost as strangers. The clever Chinese woman, a graduate of a mission school, who deplored the fact that she could not make a public speech or write a letter correctly in her own language, is typical of many Eastern girls who have found an extremely Western type of education, with all of its advantages, a distinct handicap in making a later adjustment to the needs of their environment.

This danger can be counteracted by Christian educators only by a conscious cultivation of Eastern values and an attempt to make the school Eastern in atmosphere. Such schools as Ushagram at Asansol, India, with its distinctly Indian environment are making definite progress along this line. One has a satisfaction in seeing Indian girls at Sholapur High School act a play, "The Voice of India," which indicates an appreciation of Eastern culture. What a contrast there is between the conventional types of chapel service in some

schools in India and the thoroughly Indian atmosphere of worship in the beautiful chapel of Women's Christian College in Madras. How much more charm there is in the Chinese architecture of Ginling College than in the Western type of buildings of some schools in the Orient. Educators in the East realize that the Christian schools in the future should develop in many ways more in harmony with Eastern life, so that education may not cut the student off from her environment.

These institutions should also avoid the characteristic danger of girls' schools and colleges, of segregating students in a purdah-like, self-contained atmosphere, disassociated from normal community life. The highly protective atmosphere of the boarding school offers no real training for the expanding freedom of the present day. Through an emphasis on extra-curricular activities, some Christian schools are trying to meet this all too characteristic weakness of nurturing students in an atmosphere of unreality. Capron High School in Madura offers some community contact through literacy classes taught by students to girls in a neighboring factory district. Some of the classes in Sherman High School in Chittoor have made interesting social studies of two villages, one Christian, one non-Christian. 'True Light Girls' School in Canton has a day school maintained by the students on the edge of the campus for poor children of the vicinity. During the Shanghai trouble last year, some of the McTyeire School girls gave a remarkable demonstration of efficient social service in the soldier's hospital; people marvelled at the fact that young society girls gave such willing and effective service. In Amoy, China, student government organized on the plan of the city adminis-



tration gives reality to the teaching of civic responsibility. Several of the girls' high schools in Japan, notably, the Friends' School and Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo, the Ferris Seminary in Yokohama and the Fukuoka Girls' School have developed student government to provide for non-academic student expression. Other illustrations of the attempt to give girls' schools a closer contact with life through extra-curricular activities might be given.

But on the whole, such schools are an exception in comparison with the great number of girls' schools which offer little except the conventional academic program. These various types of more creative expression which we have cited indicate the large opportunity of Christian schools for development along this line. A rather vivid diagnosis of the present inadequacy of many girls' schools in this respect is given by a missionary in Tokyo, "The girls step out of life into the schools and then step back into life again no better prepared than if they had been in a cocoon."

College education for women in the Orient faces certain definite needs and opportunities of the new day. Eastern women, who themselves have been brought up in the mission college environment, are eager that the present students should have more outside contact, especially the opportunity for normal relationship with men. Feeling keenly the anomalous situation of a new freedom with such limited opportunity for exercising it, they urge that schools should make a special effort to provide natural social contacts. Some of the women's colleges, for example, Isabella Thoburn College and Ginling College, situated near institutions for men, are trying to give their students op-

portunities for contact with men students through debating teams, literary clubs, joint chapel exercises and mixed choir and other types of religious and social activities. Such opportunities undoubtedly help to offset the inevitable disadvantages of the secluded atmosphere of women's colleges. In pointing out these difficulties, however, the splendid values in these separate colleges for women are by no means underestimated.

In the provision of normal social relationship for men and women students, Christian coeducation has much to offer. A visit to a government university and to a Christian university leaves a striking impression of their difference in social values. In the former, coeducation means merely the inclusion of girls in academic privileges; in the latter, coeducation usually offers women students opportunities for the full participation in college student life and social activities developed along normal lines. In the government university, furthermore, there is little or no provision of adequate dormitories, no dean of women to give special consideration to women's problems. In the Christian university the need for women's dormitories is recognized and much attention given to the choice of women deans. Occasionally the Christian coeducational institution, however, is developed on lines which offer no social values. There is, for example, a certain theological institution for men and women, which carefully prevents their association by limiting the women's classes to a separate floor of the building, and by having the women always use a separate stairway. Fortunately this institution is an exception.

How very different from this are coeducational in-

stitutions like Lingnan University in Canton and Yenching University in Peiping. Both of these have the wholesome atmosphere of men and women studying and working together with a real spirit of companionship. A crowd of Yenching students, whom the writer met on the train from Peiping to the Great Wall, gave a chance for a close-up of student life of Yenching. Off for a two days' spring hike, care-free and unselfconscious, the men and women students sang, played the ukelele, chatted and laughed and had the same free and easy happy time that a group from an American University off for an excursion would have enjoyed. Forman College in Lahore, although with only a handful of women students, is also demonstrating something of the social values of coeducation.

Students realize keenly how much their college life can give them in social training and urge that more attention be given to this problem. A questionnaire, circulated among her women students by Mrs. Chik, the splendid dean of women at Lingnan University, brought back a number of interesting replies of which the following is typical: "This college is coeducational, therefore, boys and girls should mingle more with each other. Girls are of two extremes—those who never speak to a boy, and those who specialize on one boy. We ought to take the middle path and associate more freely in mixed sports, in meals together, and in more cooperation in college activities." A student at Cheeloo University at Tsinan expressed the wish for a student social hall where more informal social contact would be possible, "for," as she said, "if a man calls on a girl at the dormitory, it is considered a serious attention, and if anyone makes an introduction it seems al-

most the equivalent of match-making." Mixed groups of students have a more normal attitude due to habitual wholesome association.

There is undoubtedly an urgent need for fostering an un-self-conscious comradeship between men and women in a natural environment. Young people will find their social outlets, if not through the guided channels of home or church or college, then in some other way. For young men students in Japan the café tends to become the social center. Schools no longer have a chance to decide whether Eastern youth should be exposed to Western social ideals. The exposure through many outside influences is a fact; Christian institutions can, therefore, ill afford not to use their opportunity of guiding students to a wholesome interpretation of social relationship and of helping to establish a new social code, based on principles of Christian character.

To meet the pressure of a changing age the mere provision of social facilities and more community contacts for modern youth in the East, however, will be futile unless there is a definite attempt to build character on the basis of Christian principles. Moral stamina for the new age will only be developed through awakening in youth a sense of personal responsibility and a realization of the spiritual values in life. Social freedom is attended by great danger and moral casualty unless it can be founded on the solid basis of character. Christian schools and colleges have a tremendous task to give to youth a spiritual basis of control. To quote from Miss Mabel Nowlin of Changli, North China, "The things of a modern world are here in increasing confusion, but where, except as Christianity supplies it, is the wisdom and self control to use them?"

In the building of Christian standards of social freedom, the younger foreign leaders are in a position to render special service because of their nearness to youth. In one of the coeducational institutions in India, a young American short-term professor has undoubtedly exerted a very normal social influence on the men and women students through his various friendly contacts at tea, in their sports, in the daily events of college life, and in many long confidential talks with the men students on their personal social problems. The secret of his influence lies in the naturalness of his contact. Young enough to know the trends of student thought, and keenly interested in his environment, he has entered freely into student life and assumed that student reactions are essentially the same whether in India or America. So often people fail to realize that the differences in the intellectual world of the East and the West are rapidly disappearing. In one of the universities in China several young and attractive American women teachers are leaving their impress on the social ideals of the students because of their normal social outlook.

The need for constructive character education through all stages of Christian education in schools and colleges is widely recognized by non-Christian as well as Christian leaders and by government educational authorities. Mrs. P. K. Roy, a prominent Brahmo Somaj leader in Calcutta, expressed this general consciousness of the value for spiritual emphasis in education in her opening address as President of the All-India Woman's Conference last year in Madras. "All educational institutions should have in their curriculum instruction on the moral and spiritual side of life.

I do not wish to call it religious instruction, because we can not introduce dogmas and catechisms where different sects are gathered together; but some form of instruction which would awaken the love for truth and justice, the spirit of reverence, of worship, the spirit of idealism is absolutely necessary. Intellectual and spiritual training should be given side by side. With our various changes of social outlook, we shall be faced with disappointment if we do not evolve a more complete character education for our girls."¹ A Buddhist professor in Japan, in emphasizing the need for character education makes the statement that "Government schools cannot meet the standards of the Christian school in character development, although Christian schools today fall short of their former standards."

Such a comparison of Christian schools today with those of the past is a not infrequent criticism. Whatever may have been their past standard, it may be truly stated that Christian institutions fall far short of the present need for creative religious education. Too often the religious program is interpreted only through the media of formal Bible study and religious exercise. Methods of Bible teaching are often stereotyped and unrelated to the life interests of the students. The Old Testament and the New Testament receive in many schools equal emphasis and both are presented merely as historical material. Memorizing occupies a major part of the student's time and is, as one young American teacher frankly admitted, "as valuable for the development of the character of an Oriental student, as memorizing didactic poetry would be for an

¹ All-India Women's Conference, Madras, 1931.

American student." Reliance on the efficacy of Bible teaching without interpretation or application to life is the keynote of the religious education program of a great number of schools. Strangely enough there are fewer teachers specially trained in religious education than in any other field, although this is recognized as the distinctive contribution of the Christian school.

Throughout the Orient the government policies of restriction of religious education in the accepted meaning of the term have caused deep concern among Christian educators. In view of this, the opinion expressed in the recent splendid report of religious education in China by Miao and Price is highly significant; namely that the government restrictions are not so serious as the failure of the schools themselves "effectively to meet the religious needs of the students." It was further asserted that the lack of close relationship of religious education to character training is due to its failure "to impinge upon the life situation and moral issues which students need from day to day."

The truth of this statement is borne out by a student questionnaire recently circulated among college students in China, asking for a personal opinion on the most helpful influences in Christian colleges.² This revealed the fact that personal contact and religious self-nurture were for most students more helpful than the religious education program. This indicates what many schools have failed to realize, that a subject centered program has comparatively little effect. It is a tragic irony that the loss of the regular religious program, which has been such a vital issue in some parts

² *Fact Finders Report on China*. Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry.

of the Orient, might not, in the final analysis, be a real loss. Only as the religious teaching is intimately related to the life of the student and is not a mere formal addendum will it be truly effective. The religious program too often does not leave the impression of being permeated with the reality of Christian teaching, but is regarded as something required at a certain period and finished like a class in Algebra at the end of the year. As one Christian worker said, "It seems as if the Bible study in many schools is like an inoculation which tends to make one immune from the real thing." Such a statement gives food for thought on the religious teaching of Christian schools.

In contrast to the many stereotyped religious education programs there are interesting exceptions, which show what a vital, creative program can accomplish. One or two such illustrations will serve to indicate the larger possibilities for the future. Miss Bergevin of Ludhiana, India, writes of her experiment in religious education in a lower school, "The regular daily Bible period was given up and instead all the girls came together twice a week for a longer period of discussion. It was hard to warm them up at first, but after an individual endeavour by leader and class to draw a religious picture of Ludhiana City, we began to lose formality and shyness, and questions and discussion followed. The Bible was rarely opened, but we got it down from where it had before been easily and glibly quoted, into practical, everyday issues. There were Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs and Christians in the class which made discussion keen and varied. I overheard one intensely interested girl say to another after a few weeks

—'Miss Sahiba doesn't teach the Bible, it's all talk on life.' "

The Methodist Girls' High School in Peiping offers also an illustration of originality and vitality in the religious education program, as one sees from a brief visit to the class room. A number of pictures on the wall illustrating religious art, a cabinet of dolls representing various nations, and pictures of Abraham Lincoln and Sun Yat Sen were some of the interesting features that made the room more than a mere class room. These were related in various ways to the general program. A course in great heroes served the double purpose of inculcating ideals of leadership and patriotism. A course on St. Paul's attitude toward the life of his time gave subject matter for discussion on modern issues. The study of the life of Jesus, the Man, was not treated from the usual historic viewpoint but as illustrative of character values. What a contrast between a class discussion period of this type and between a class concentrated on memorizing St. Paul's journeys or listening to a lecture on the Old Testament, such as one only too frequently finds.

A few Christian leaders in each country of the Orient are working on the problem of vitalizing the religious education program to make it more definitely contribute to character building. The preparation of living material with character teaching based on an Eastern background is one of the present objectives. In China, through the cooperation of Chinese and foreign leaders, very significant results along this line are being achieved, such as, for example, the work of Miss Irma Highbaugh for Christian parents and of Miss Mabel Nowlin in preparing teaching material for grade

school children on the subject "Learning To Live Together." In no other phase of Christian education is creative thinking and experimentation more urgently needed than in that of religious education, as this may still be considered a pioneering field and contribution to it is unquestionably a distinctive service expected from the Christian school.

The most vital phase of the problem of character education for Christian educators in the Orient, especially in the colleges, is the question of the social teaching of Christianity. This social emphasis does not mean that there should be any less effort to deepen the student's personal religion. For the Christian student the social gospel is the natural and inevitable consequence of personal relation to Christ. For the non-Christian, as well as the Christian, Christ's social principles should be the basis of the new social order.

Constantly recurrent in conversation with Eastern leaders, both men and women, the lack of social emphasis is expressed. Few colleges have satisfied this demand for a more immediate contact with living problems. Social sciences and the discussion of the Social Gospel receive scant attention. This is partly due to the over-burdened academic curriculum prescribed by the government, and partly to the fear of the word social, which might be confused with socialism. It may be due also to the lack of full consciousness of the changing needs of students. They demand far more avenues for creative expression today and are more interested in the problems of life than were the students of an earlier era. When a girls' school was her horizon and her interests limited to her own home. Whatever may be the cause, the lack of a constructive

social emphasis in Christian schools in an era of social change is nothing short of tragic. If they are to contribute effectively to the development of the future leaders, Christian schools and colleges should show more awareness of social and industrial problems. Save at the price of losing their largest influence, they can not be oblivious to the students' vital interest in social questions and desire for civic education. If Christianity bore a more vital connection to social issues, the appeal of Communism might be lessened. The divided, uncertain, often timorous presentation of Christianity is often contrasted in the student mind with the unified, fearless, social program of Communism which inspires many to sacrificial service.

Furthermore women students need more knowledge of modern economic and social problems in order that they may be prepared for their larger future role in civic and national affairs. The chief approach of Christian missions to major social and industrial problems in the future is through the students in schools and colleges today. The educated youth of the present should be given basic knowledge and a chosen few should be trained for specialized service in order to guide the public opinion of tomorrow. The social and industrial problems of women and children have received little attention, although much of the industry of the Orient is being built on their labor. Women workers are needed, or will be needed in the near future, along various lines of social and industrial effort; as welfare workers for charity relief, for case work, for the supervision of social institutions, for factory inspection and for social research. There is already an awakening of the consciousness of this need. "We have a great desire

to do social work but we lack knowledge," a young Brahman woman said in an address at the Lahore Woman's Conference. This gives in a sentence the opportunity of Christian missions in this field. Social work in the East will undoubtedly continue to develop in the coming decades. Whether this will be on purely secular lines or with a spiritual motivation will depend on the Christian forces. In the field of social service and training of social workers, Christian missions have lagged behind their development in other lines.³ They may not be able to establish social welfare projects broadcast through the Orient but they should inspire and train leadership. They should furnish also enough demonstration centers to give practical application of effective social service on a modern scientific basis carried out in the spirit of Christ.

In the whole field of education for girls whether in schools or colleges, but especially in the latter, Christian institutions should inculcate the ideal of service, taking Christ's own words as their guide, "It becometh me to fulfill all righteousness." The small educated minority should be filled with the consciousness that its educational privilege is a sacred trust. Fundamental progress in the Orient is conditioned on the advance of the masses. This will only be

³ Training Courses for social workers offered by Christian agencies in the Orient include the following: *India*—the Social Service Training Center for Women, Bombay (a union Christian enterprise), short training courses in social service (mostly for men) in Nagpada Neighborhood House, Bombay; *China*—Yenching University Training Course for Social Workers and a Village Social Center under the Sociology Department, and the Shanghai University Training Course for Social Workers; *Japan*—Doshisha University Theological School Course in Social Science and training of Social Workers, Ai Kei Gakuin Practical Social Service Training Center and Settlement House in Tokyo.

achieved if the enlightened few assume full responsibility for the elevation of the great under-privileged majority. Otherwise the cleavage is widened between the intellectuals and the great solid bulwark of the people, who constitute the basic strength of every country in the Orient. The danger of alienation of the small group of educated leaders from their own land is inherent in modern education on Western lines. It can only be overcome by the constant desire of Christian educators to appreciate and understand Eastern culture and by their persistent effort to inspire students with a sense of national pride and a spirit of self-giving service. If Christian education fails to do this, and merely produces a privileged minority, imbued with a sense of its own superiority, ashamed of the unenlightened masses or oblivious to their needs, Christian education has committed an irreparable injury to the Orient.

As the Christian educator for women in the Orient faces the future, she sees many new opportunities, not for expansion, but for concentration on the deeper values of education for girls. She has little doubt of the continued contribution of Christian education in the East, if it can be developed in the spirit of the new day. To meet this high objective, however, she realizes that education should be more closely related to life, should interpret the meaning of social freedom, should inculcate ideals of social responsibility and service and, above all else, should aid in the development of creative Christian character.

CHAPTER XI

Religious Work for Women in Town and Country

The fields of creative adventure are many,—worship, healing, preaching, parent training, child training, friendship, brotherhood, character training in its many phases of kindness, helpfulness, thoughtfulness of others, together with all the Godlike attributes too numerous to mention.

—Emma Horning.¹

WITH full recognition of the values in the religious program for women carried on by missions in the past, one can not fail to recognize the need for fundamental improvement in this phase of missionary effort. Many thoughtful missionaries emphasize the fact that change is imperative, if missions are to meet the demands of the present day. Conditions vary materially in different countries of the Orient, but the generalization may be safely made that religious work for women can not fill the present need or future opportunity without radical adjustment. No phase of mission work for women, in fact, presents a more urgent necessity for re-evaluation.

Of primary concern is the recruiting and training of a more adequate type of worker. Changing educational conditions and the general awakening of women make impossible and unwise the continuance of elderly, untrained, meagrely educated, often scarcely more than illiterate Bible women, to whom has been committed in the past, especially in India and China, a large part in the religious program. Not only would the con-

¹ *Missionaries as Creators* from the Chinese Recorder, March, 1932.

tinuance of this type of worker mean ineffective work, but it would be detrimental to the whole Christian program, as it places Christianity on a low plane, which can not but discredit it in the mind of the non-Christian. As Miss Senger of Chin Chow, Shansi, China, says, "The highest calling in the world must not be satisfied with the least trained people to present its cause."

Whatever may have been the contribution of Bible women in the past in reaching women in the zenanas, in supplementing the work in hospitals, and in helping to bring the woman missionary into contact with Eastern women, the day of the Bible woman of the proverbial type is past, or at least is rapidly passing. In the earlier days it was doubtless necessary to use this type of worker but other material is now available, if it can be secured. Younger, better educated workers, however, will not be attracted to the field of religious work as long as it is preëmpted by the older untrained Bible woman. The word Bible woman is, in itself, a serious handicap in the minds of many, a synonym for the unfit and indigent. The practice of employing needy widows and wives of pastors as Bible women, not because of their special ability, but because of their financial needs, has undermined their personal influence and has been a serious handicap in building up the idea of religious work as a real profession.

An Indian Christian woman, a well-known social worker, in critical but truthful terms, describes the situation, "The Bible woman often looks upon her work mainly as a means of earning a living, without any sense of vocation. She is often suspected of having an ulterior motive for whatever good she may do, even

though she may be well received in many a home as a friend. This attitude is harmful and does not result in anything which is frank, true and sincere. Educated young women today are repelled by such a subsidized service." Criticism comes, not only from the educated young Eastern workers, but from senior women missionaries, one of whom in Madras said, "After years of evangelistic work I believe we should discontinue all of our present type of ineffective Bible women, except perhaps one or two, and make a fresh start. At present they are a drag on progress."

The situation in India is especially critical. Social conditions have made it difficult and, in some areas, impossible for well-trained, young Indian women to do religious work, which depended on freedom to move about in the community and in rural areas and to live an independent life. The older married woman could meet the social and moral requirements. But with the changing social conditions there is more latitude now in the work that unmarried, younger women can do. Missionaries of courage and constructive thought are following the change and capitalizing each new opportunity. Miss Van der Speck in Madura, Miss Harris in Ahmednagar, Miss Randall, Miss Clark, and Miss Bradley in Muttra, to mention only a few, are concentrating on this problem of raising the level of the religious worker. Those directly connected with the problem must be aided by missionaries in girls' schools, who should present religious work to their students as a field for special service, not as a third choice for the mentally or socially under-privileged, who could not teach or enter nursing.

Although the great majority of Bible women at the

present time in India leaves a depressing impression of futility, there are a few outstanding exceptions. Mrs. Samuel from Rawalpindi illustrates the extent of influence of a well-educated religious worker, making friends with the people, visiting in their homes, teaching them to read or perhaps to knit and sew but never pushing the message. "I merely make friends," she says, "and wait till the right time comes." Two splendid women workers in Lucknow, visiting freely in the zenanas, giving purdahnashin Mohammedans a glimpse of a wider world, and a very effective Bible woman in Vellore, conducting an excellent adult educational program in Brahman homes, show the rich possibilities of religious service with the right type of worker.

Aside from the attempts to raise the level of the paid Bible woman, some effort is being made to train wives of pastors and Christian workers. A number of the theological schools offer special training courses for women. The agricultural school in Allahabad has a proposed plan to train the wives of their students along simple agricultural and home welfare lines to supplement the husband's work. Efforts of this type indicate the realization of the fact that the ignorant, untrained wife militates against the success of her husband in all lines of service.

The situation in China in reference to the status of Bible women and the general position of lay women workers has reached a more favorable stage of development. Social customs do not constitute as difficult a problem as in India. The old untrained Bible women still prevail but it is the consensus of opinion that their eventual disappearance is only a matter of

time. According to Mrs. A. F. Fisher, formerly secretary for women's work under the Synod of the Church of Christ in China, "The old idea of Bible women has passed. It has proved to be adverse to the development of volunteer leaders in the Church, who often have the attitude toward church duties, 'the Bible woman is paid for such service. Let her do it.' " Miss Senger, already mentioned, writes, "I do not approve of the very poorly trained worker. Lay women workers will do a great deal more effectively what the present Bible woman does." Deaconess Stewart, in charge of the work of Bible women in the Hankow diocese, shares the opinion that the training of the present type of Bible women should be discontinued. She recognizes, however, that some of these older women, because of their devotion and intimate personal contacts, may be difficult to replace, and so is giving them additional training to make them more effective.

Miss Highbaugh of Changli points out the fact that, as the volunteer lay workers replace the Bible women, there will be need for well-trained Chinese women to train these lay workers and help in planning more creative programs of church work for women. She gives an interesting description which opens a vista of the future possibilities of lay leaders, if trained. "In this area the lay women regularly teach singing, do evangelistic work, make calls in the homes, both Christian and non-Christian, teach Sunday School classes very often carried on in the village homes, help to raise church finances, take turns in directing a Sunday morning nursery at church, serve on school boards and on church committees, fill the position of deacons and Sunday School Superintendents, and act as truant

officers and as teachers in Mass Education classes, of which there were over a hundred last year. Chinese women, by virtue of their ability, if trained, attain an equality with men which I have never seen in the West."

Even in rural areas, there is a growing amount of excellent material for volunteer workers. The government normal schools, being established in various parts of China, train girls of grammar school grade as teachers for the villages. These young teachers should be given opportunities for spiritual growth and practical training for volunteer church service. In connection with the training of lay leadership special mention should be made of the excellent work of Miss T. C. Kuan of the National Christian Council, in promoting the Christianizing the Home Program through women's groups in the churches.

A number of missions are attempting to develop leadership among simple uneducated country women through station classes held in a central place during the slack season. A visit to one of these station classes in Tung Chow near Peiping gave a glimpse of a group of simple country women, very happy together and eager to learn. Most of them had bound feet and were married, as was evident by the absence of bangs, which according to the Chinese custom are pulled out on their marriage day. Each had brought her own grain, her main food, but would pay the Bible woman in charge for her vegetables as well as for her light and heat. In small groups of three or four, they lived on the family plan, each group having one room and doing its own cooking. The program consisted of general education and Bible instruction.

A visit to a six days' institute or conference of women from the eight different churches in Peiping at the Union Bible Training School afforded a cross-section of the city type of church women. The women welcomed this chance to come together; paid a small tuition fee, also their own ricksha fare each day, and many had to make arrangements for the care of their children while gone. The program included talks on the responsibility of the church for religious education, a presentation of project teaching through the use of toys and dolls, and a modern method of telling Bible stories correlated with the Chinese environment. "It is very hopeful," Miss Marguerite Barnes, the Director of the Union Training School, said, "to see such a group of lay women as this coming together for training, since it represents the passing of the old idea of religious education when the Bible woman entertained with a picture and a song and story, and urged the people to be saved. The emphasis today is no less on personal religion but introduces also the need for more definite service."

Compared with the prevailing type of untrained Bible woman of India and China, the women in religious work in Japan represent a higher class. There are many younger women, high school graduates for the most part, with special preparation in a Bible Training School. There is the same upward trend in Japan as elsewhere of trying to enlist more highly trained workers. Religious work in Japan obviously must meet a higher standard educationally than in China because of the almost universal literacy. It labors under certain definite disadvantages, as it is not professionalized, commands a smaller salary than other lines

of service requiring equal training, and is not accorded full recognition by many pastors and the general public. As a result this field has attracted few outstanding women leaders. The well-trained women who enter the field often leave, because of the unsatisfactory relationships, to take up teaching or social work. The needs of the present situation are summed up by Miss Abe, of the Baptist Tabernacle in Tokyo, one of the outstanding Bible women in Japan. "Bible women should occupy a position next to the minister, with the full responsibility for promoting women's interests. It would be better to have fewer and better trained Bible women for specialized service. Much of the routine work of Bible women could be handled by lay women."

Although many of the religious workers in Japan are of the rather conventional type, there are a few women of exceptional leadership in this line of work. Tokyo has two older Bible women of unusual personality; Miss Abe, already mentioned, and Miss Furuta, in charge of the religious program for women in the Methodist Churches in Tokyo. Miss Obara in the Morioka district, associated with Miss Thomasine Allen in Baptist Church work, a college graduate with special training in religious education in America, represents the type of worker needed in the Christian program. The entrance of a highly trained younger leader like Miss Obara into religious work indicates a very hopeful trend. If these younger well-educated workers are to be used effectively, however, it is necessary that more adequate scope should be given for such trained service. The conservative pastor in many

churches seriously handicaps the progressive program of the younger well-trained woman leader.

Throughout the Orient the crucial question for the future program of religious work for women is the type of training needed.² Conventional stereotyped schools, offering courses along theological lines, stressing equally the Old and the New Testament with no social emphasis and no relationship to living issues and with no practical program, will produce workers who will carry on a stereotyped service of very little value. Such schools and such programs will not attract keen, well-educated young leaders who can lift religious work for women to the high level of effectiveness where it belongs. Progressive leaders, missionaries and Eastern workers, recognize the urgency of readjustment in training; accordingly, attempts are being made in different places to introduce more reality into the religious program.

An interesting illustration is the month's village field work experience for students given by the Union Bible Training School in Peiping. A group of students

² In India there are 4 regular Bible training schools and a number of short-term courses and institutes, also special courses of a simple nature in several theological schools for the wives of the theological students. *Fact-finders Report for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry*, 1931. (Unpublished.)

The China Mission Year Book for 1931 gives 3 Bible teacher's training schools of higher grade, 2 schools of a lower grade and many schools requiring only primary school education. Ginling College, Cheeloo University and Yenching University Schools of Religion, Canton Theological Seminary and the Central Union Theological Seminary have women students in religion.

There are at present, in Japan, according to the Christian Education Association survey, ten institutions in which women are given training in religious work. In addition to these schools and special courses, women are admitted to Aoyama Gakuin Theological School in Tokyo and Doshisha University in Kyoto.

and teachers rented a house in the middle of a non-Christian village and shared in all the hardships and pleasures of village life. In the mornings they carried on classes in literacy, simple hygiene and handwork, "for their own value, not as a lure for religious teaching," as Miss Barnes explained; in the afternoon they called in the village homes. As they became acquainted with the people, they shared their Christian message, trying freely to give the village women a new personal consciousness of God to supplement their remote idea of "The Old Man of Heaven," who is all powerful but not all loving. The students in all their contacts approached the village, not with the idea of handing over something to dumb, ignorant people, but of sharing special privileges with friends. This month of practical experience, Miss Barnes said, "gave the students an entirely new sense of direction and a consciousness of the larger value of their work." If the training of workers is along these practical lines, combining religious and social values, related to the life of the community, whether urban or rural, the whole program of religious work will be revitalized.

Such an approach and presentation of the inclusive message of Christianity, given through daily friendly contact, not through merely the single evangelistic appeal, is recognized by many missionaries as an absolute necessity. Miss Senger, out of the depth of her experience, writes: "There must be a more practical scientific plan for presenting Christ's message of Love. If I did not try to live so close to the people and demand that all my activities get down to the practical, it would be easier but would solve nothing." She is carrying out her ideal of practical service, combined

with evangelistic effort, by teaching wool work, dyeing and weaving and industrial projects developed entirely along the lines of Chinese needs. Another missionary in Shansi, Miss Emma Horning, through a simple project of teaching village women to make dolls, has developed an inclusive home-making program with an emphasis on home industry, health, child training and home teaching of religion. In regard to this new approach she writes, "The work was going downhill. I was conscious of the need for something tangible for my simple Chinese women." The religious appeal is a very vital part of her whole program as her primary interest is the sharing of her Christian message. Often she begins directly with this, but always her approach, she says, "is based on sound psychology."

Miss Olive Dunn, a missionary in North India, after a long period of service also feels keenly the same need to relate religion to all lines of service. "Until we go to the very foundation of living itself," she writes, "and include all the physical, mental and spiritual truth possible, India cannot rise. Cleanliness, motherhood, well babies, less infant mortality, education in social manners, and general culture are the things most eagerly sought. Religious teaching alone cannot meet these needs. It only creates a gulf between us." In South India at Vellore in the heart of a city district where many Brahmans live, at the Social Service Center under Mrs. Henry Honegger and her Indian associates, you will find Christian service made a daily reality along many lines. Many Hindu women come to this center for clubs or classes, games or a party, a quiet talk, an hour of worship or just to enjoy the

friendly intimate Christian atmosphere and personal contact.

Mainpuri in the United Provinces offers another vivid illustration of what this type of approach means. The barred doorway to many a zenana is opened gladly when Miss Anette Dennis knocks. The purdah women within know what her coming means—a lesson in reading, a new book for those who have already learned to read, a friendly talk and advice about the sick baby, a Bible story and words of good cheer. Out of these visits an interesting venture of a Daily Vacation Bible School developed a year or so ago. A Mohammedan woman, eager for the school, gave two large rooms of her zenana. The students, as is typical of India, were a strange mixture of older married women, young brides and little girls. All were Mohammedan. Typical of the spirit of Indian women today was the eagerness in receiving the silver stars for Bible study and other stars for the three R's and for handwork, temperance, and moral teaching and health. On the final day the whole neighborhood crowded in to see the school exhibition. At the closing feast the crowning touch of appreciation and friendliness came when the Mohammedan mother of the household at the dinner touched the missionary's hand, gently saying, "If there is any lack, let me know. I count you my sister."

The practical presentation of Christ's message leads to adventures which in the decades past might not have been given the label of religious work. Today religion is being expressed with greater joy and freedom. To close the big annual church gathering at Paotingfu, China, last year with anything but a benediction would have formerly seemed strangely incongruous or sacri-

legious. But to the people assembled there, it seemed very natural to adjourn to the courtyard for the final number, an interpretative dance by a group of high school girls, expressing in words and rhythm, not only the old Chinese folk song but their own joy in living.

If you could have visited Morioka, Japan, last summer, you would have found this same spirit of joy in an interesting vacation group for children in the lovely cryptomeria-shaded grounds of a Buddhist temple. Here, from the flag-raising ceremony at seven till the lowering of the flag at five, a varied program was carried on—Danish gymnastics, health talks, singing, handwork drawings, and handcraft and group worship. "In order that we might do something toward directing the children's thought from nationalism to God's care for all," Miss Allen explained, "we took as our theme 'Our Father's Care.' In the worship service, group periods and handwork, we developed this idea as God's care for nature, for us, for our country, for other countries and the world. During the week together the children and the teachers all became one big family, eating, playing, singing, working and praying together, all in the quiet atmosphere of the Buddhist temple. Every day the devout worshippers, who climbed the mountain to worship at this particular shrine, and rang the bell to gain the god's attention and clapped their hands in prayer, must have wondered at the group of children and young teachers under the trees having such a happy time together." The eleven young students from different schools and colleges who had assisted Obara San and Miss Allen in the varied program carried away from this week of their summer vacation a new vision of Christian service.

A special means of developing the inclusive Christian influence in Japan is offered by the kindergarten. If the opportunity that it affords for community and home contact is fully developed, the kindergarten teacher can count for every child in the community an open door of welcome to a home. That the influence of these kindergarten years is not lost, one can see from a page of the December, 1931, diary of Mrs. Binford in Shimotsuma:

December 22nd. "I went to the primary school today and took a movie view of their exhibit. The teachers assigned one of my former kindergarten graduates, now in the third year primary, to show me through the rooms. The kindergarten graduates flocked around me, but not all, as there are fifty-two. I couldn't understand why they hurried me so until we got to a room upstairs, and there in the center of the room was a lovely Christmas tree. The children had decorated it themselves with stars and bells and cotton. A Christmas tree in a government school with fourteen hundred boys and girls! Needless to say, it is the first time Christmas has come to the primary school in Shimotsuma. Kikuochi San says there is only one explanation and that is—our fifty-two kindergarten graduates in the school."

A most intimate type of personal religious work is revealed by further "homey" bits from this diary. Not a routine program, but an intensely active life merged in the life of a small Japanese town, is Mrs. Binford's interpretation of her missionary service. With her hus-

band she attends the weddings and funerals, celebrates village festivals and takes part in civic projects. Each day is replete for both of them with opportunities for Christian service. Their work illustrates the rare influence of a Christian home shared freely with the people of a non-Christian community.

We have chosen various types of religious service from different parts of the Orient to illustrate the presentation of the inclusive Christian message. In striking contrast to this interpretation of the Christian task is the widely diffused evangelistic approach which is typical of some areas. For example, there is one place in North India where one woman missionary and her Bible woman cover over a thousand villages with only a dozen or more Christians in each. If you have the opportunity of a day spent in visiting some of these villages, you can not fail to marvel at the faith and inspiring devotion of a sacrificial self-giving life, and, also the passion for soul saving expressed by the American missionary when she said, "When I see the teeming millions all around me, as yet untouched by the Gospel, I find it hard to be patient with the Church in America that can calmly dissect the Mission Movement when the whole situation calls for immediate action." But as you sit on the charpoy bed in the outcast section of one of the villages visited, and watch the little group of Christian women and the larger group of non-Christian, high caste bystanders in a crowd on the outskirts or perhaps sitting up above on the mud wall, all listening to the Bible woman or the missionary telling the Gospel story and giving the Gospel invitation, you wonder how vital this single contact with the Christian message can be. It lasts, at most, an hour and

will not be repeated for perhaps another three years, since with such a wide area, more frequent visits are scarcely possible. This type of approach seems as futile as trickles of water lost in the desert sands.

Your doubts, as a mere observer, are shared by some missionaries of years of experience in India, who are giving their lives to bringing Christ to the Indian village. One missionary from North India writes out of deep conviction, "We all believe Christ is the solution. But in our zeal we have gone too fast. Taking Christ's name is no benefit to the cause, unless the person receives that power to rise which comes only by personal experience of Jesus Christ. Today our church, especially this district (perhaps many places are the same) is filled with nominal Christians. Many have taken the name because of material benefits desired, or gained thereby. They have been too numerous to teach, because the forward march to keep up the pace we started has demanded new recruits. Oh! to be free from reports for the Home Church, which always seems pleased by numbers, to be free to teach those we have, to vitalize this nominal church that we may be a living force in the community. Will not the Home Base be willing for us to dig deep awhile, and not expect visible results until the foundation is above ground? Education—religious and secular—is the only method. This, vitalized by Christ's spirit, will work wonders."

The inclusive message of Christianity, which seeks to lift the level of life as a whole through many channels of service, does not lose sight of the essential importance of conveying the message of Christ. For some it may mean the direct evangelistic approach through the spoken word. For others the most "perfect mode of

speech" may be the silent evangelism of daily living the Christ ideal for those who know Him not. But the evangelistic effort will always be a part of the mission task. To promote better economic and physical standards of life and a higher educational level is an incomplete service and may be a doubtful if not actually a dangerous contribution of the West to the East, if there is not also an appeal for the higher life of the spirit. The secret of all fundamental change lies in the regenerated individual. The new society must be built in the lives of individuals, consecrated to serve and follow the highest spiritual ideal. For the Christian this ideal will be Christ's Way of Life. This needs to be expressed in no uncertain terms in modern life whether in the East or the West.

As missionaries of vision face the tremendous problem of rural uplift, which must affect every phase of village life, they recognize that intensive efforts in a limited field can alone be effective. The many gripping needs of women of rural Asia make an irresistible appeal but the futility of too widespread effort is increasingly apparent. The most permanent results, it is therefore believed, will be secured by concentration. The problem of women's work in rural areas has not received an adequate proportion of mission effort, although it is generally recognized that the village woman is the key to the whole village as she either promotes or hinders general advance. A statement like the following from a missionary in the Punjab could be made of other fields, "Judged by the proportion of mission money, mission time and thought, which is focussed on the Punjab village, the serious importance of the village is not yet realized. . . . If we really be-

lieve that the ninety per cent of the population who live in the villages are as important as the ten per cent who live in the cities, let us proceed in a manner consistent with that conviction."

In promoting a program for the uplift of village women of Asia, the primary contribution of the missionary will be through the preparation of Eastern women leaders for all types of rural service. Since the prevailing conservatism of the East makes it impossible for men to meet the needs of village women, trained women workers are an urgent necessity. The desirability of having Eastern leaders, as rapidly as they are trained, assume the major responsibility for direct village work is apparent because of their knowledge of the language and folkways. Moreover, Christianity can only find itself truly at home in the village of the Orient as Christ is interpreted through the people of the East, and not only through foreigners, however closely identified with Eastern life they may be.

To recruit educated young women of the East of the highest type such as are needed for village service is the special opportunity of Christian institutions. Schools, colleges, and hospitals should present more convincingly the appeal for Christian service in rural life. They have on the whole been urban-centered, directing very little serious attention to rural problems. An outstanding exception among secondary schools is the Ongole Girls' Training School for village teachers in South India, which is thoroughly adapted to the village environment. In the college field, Hwa Nan College in Foochow, China, should be mentioned. A large number of graduates from this institution have been inspired to enter rural service as a life career. They are

now serving in remote areas as teachers, doctors and nurses. Several of the other women's colleges in the East have brought the village into the student consciousness through social service projects or Sunday Schools in nearby villages. The Daily Vacation Bible Schools, held in Korean villages by students from Ewha College, have afforded such contacts with rural problems. But more definite emphasis should be given to presenting the need for village uplift to women students, and to directing some of them into this field of service.

The entrance of younger women into rural work is fraught with problems characteristic of a pioneering period. Especially in India, because of the social environment, young women, living and working independently in the village, must meet a difficult situation. But in discussing this problem a group of fine young teachers at the Avalon High School in Pathankot agreed that they could overcome the social handicaps if they were really committed to religious work in villages. "We use our social handicaps as an alibi for any real desire for religious work either in towns or villages. An Indian woman graduate can work any where she chooses if she is careful." Examples of this type of young women in rural work are not lacking, such as the young Indian doctor in charge of a lonely branch hospital near Vellore. In order to meet the social difficulties of the present situation, the plan has been suggested in India of having a group of women workers live together in a central village from which they can serve the other villages in that area. Such groups made up of workers of different types could very effectively meet the varied needs of villages. China and Japan



Carrying Home the Harvest in Japan

offer less of a problem for the young rural worker than India. Although in some parts of China an elderly chaperone is considered desirable, it is not impossible anywhere in China for a young woman of the right type to carry on independent service. One of this type, a student in the School of Religion in Tsinan, expressed the opinion that the younger women will be able to avoid criticism and establish their social position. In her opinion young Chinese evangelists can work freely in the village without the foreign worker.

It is an interesting fact that the well-trained Eastern leader oftentimes finds it as difficult to make the physical adjustment to the lower living standard as does the foreign worker. The Chinese student mentioned above spoke with admiration of the way some foreign workers adapt themselves to Chinese food and general village conditions. The writer is reminded also of the physical strain entailed by Miss Allen's rural evangelistic work in northern Japan—traveling long hours, usually off the beaten path, living in primitive Japanese inns, picturesque in summer but cold in winter, and sharing the simple Japanese food with the village people. Such examples are undoubtedly stimulating to the young Eastern leader who is entering this difficult type of Christian service.

The inevitable problems, both social and physical, inherent in rural service, missionaries in village work believe, will be overcome if these young Eastern leaders have sufficient intellectual background and spiritual resources, and if they visualize rural work as a task demanding their highest creative ability. It is a fallacy to think that the simple untrained worker can meet the needs of living in rural areas. If the primary goal of

village evangelism is to lift the level of rural life, the worker must have a wider vision than the village. Initiative, responsibility, creative imagination, a depth of purpose and consecration to the service of Christ are required in the highest degree.

The training of these future leaders for rural service, as has been said, constitutes a major emphasis of the foreign worker's task and her most effective contribution to the rural problem. Training does not, however, mean merely an academic course in an urban institution. The most effective training is the close cooperative effort of foreign workers with their Eastern colleagues, living and working together in the village, seeking the means by which they can minister to the physical and spiritual needs of village women. Missionaries specially fitted by training and by personality, to carry on these cooperative ventures in rural service will be long needed. Such combinations require intimate understanding and sympathy, and a fine working basis of equality. Where these rare partnerships in Christian service develop, they produce results of rich quality and high potential power.

It is vain for one who has had no direct experience of rural service to try to evaluate its appeal and compensation for the foreign worker. The physical hardships, the isolation from intellectual resources, the spiritual loneliness loom large in the foreground of village work. But one cannot travel with foreign workers who have chosen this field without being caught with their contagious enthusiasm and their belief that, somehow after all rural life can be lifted to a higher level. Their exhilaration and certainty of direction are in rare contrast with their dull, plodding, and

apparently endless, uphill task. One has a feeling that although the road may lead uphill, even to the journey's end, all along the way is the rare sense of a task worthwhile, a joy in service, and an intimacy of fellowship not always found in work under more favored conditions. These rural workers seem, as one great missionary has said, "to have the courage to do great things for God and expect great things from God."

CHAPTER XII

The Closer Fellowship of the East and West

For all Life is darkness save where there is urge,
And all urge is empty save when there is knowledge,
And all knowledge vain save where there is love,
But when we work together with love and with knowledge
We bind ourselves to one another and to God.

—Khalil Gibran, *The Prophet*.¹

IN meeting the gamut of opportunities presented by the new situation in the East, Christian missions have the great asset of an increasing number of Eastern women leaders, who can assume major responsibility for the Christian program. The possibility of transferring the administrative control of Christian enterprises to women of the Orient is an evidence of the primary accomplishment of mission effort. Every college president, or principal of a school for girls, head of a mission hospital, or trained social worker indicates that Christian influence has entered permanently into the life of the East. Failure to recognize this as a measure of success, and failure to promote such further achievements as an inescapable goal, indicates lack of faith and vision.

In the field of mission work for women the transfer of responsibility and control has moved, on the whole, more slowly than in other lines of missionary endeavor. This may be partly attributed to certain psychological factors, inherent in the problems of women's work. Maternalistic affection and a possessive attitude toward their institutions, in a real sense the object of their life's devotion, have made many women missionaries reluc-

¹ Published by Knopf.

tant to relinquish full responsibility. A feeling of beneficent guardianship and eagerness for the highest measure of success, moreover, have inspired perhaps an undue measure of caution and fear of loss of effectiveness, which might result from the transfer of authority. This characteristic weakness of women's work—in a sense the result of their excellence—is recognized by some women missionaries as, for example, Miss Ethel Gordon of Poona, India, in the expression, "We must sit more lightly on our responsibilities and have a less possessive attitude toward our work." Aside from these personal factors affecting the transfer of the control of Christian institutions to Eastern leaders, there are certain fundamental difficulties, which cannot be underestimated. Moreover the prevailing social environment of the Orient has unquestionably retarded the advance of women. The constant withdrawal of women from professional life due to marriage means that a far larger number of leaders is necessary for women's than for men's work. The paucity of trained women leaders is apparent in every field of effort in the East. One cannot fail to recognize these factors and take them into consideration in the future planning of mission work for women.

But recognizing fully these very real deterrents to devolution in various phases of women's effort, there can be little doubt that this must be a primary objective. The question is not whether the transfer of responsibility to Eastern women leaders should take place but how and when this can be successfully effected, without sacrificing essential values of the Christian program. An artificial policy of replacing foreign leaders with nationals automatically, always giving preference

to the national, without regard to special capacity, does not commend itself, either to the missionary worker or to the thoughtful Eastern woman leader. Capacity, not nationality, is the fair criterion. But inherent capacity should be recognized and ample opportunity for full development through the exercise of responsibility should be afforded.

It is obvious that the transfer of responsibility should not be made abruptly without adequate preparation. Precipitate devolution is not fair either to the institution or to the Eastern leader. Moreover, different phases of mission effort must be carefully studied, as the transfer of leadership cannot proceed uniformly in widely different fields of work. For example, rural service presents its special problems. One cannot forget the fact that rural Asia is as yet practically unaffected by change and that there is only a handful of Eastern leaders in comparison with the uneducated millions. Rural needs, therefore, present a special call for missionary service. This does not affect, however, the primary principle that the goal of mission effort is to promote Eastern leadership. In all lines of mission work in the East today, no problem requires more discernment and wisdom of the foreign leader than this. The major tasks are the recognition of present leaders to whom responsible posts may now be entrusted, and the discovery and careful training of potential leaders for the future.

To accomplish this goal, forward looking missionaries in all fields of effort—whether in education, health, social or religious work, in urban and rural areas—recognize the necessity of concentrating on the training of Eastern leaders. Their objective is, as it

should be, to train their own replacements. They welcome the opportunity to withdraw from concrete lines of work and responsibilities as rapidly as Eastern leaders can assume these tasks.

In the foregoing chapters we have stressed the specific types of service in which Eastern leaders are needed. Training in these lines requires foreign workers of specialized ability and experience with a real gift for calling forth creative leadership. The technical qualifications exacted of foreign workers in the Orient today are much higher than those of the earlier era, when the missionary of general training and experience was needed and much appreciated. As a Chinese Christian teacher said, "Formerly any American woman was better qualified than any Chinese woman but this is no longer true." Although specialists in various lines are undoubtedly needed for the present missionary task, the fear is often expressed that they may not be able to adapt specialized technique to existing Eastern conditions. This is a very real problem as Eastern values in thought and culture must not be sacrificed on the altar of high-powered Western efficiency. It is obvious that the training of Eastern leaders must be suited to the needs of the Eastern environment and not artificially transplanted from the West.

This goal of mission effort, namely, to prepare Eastern women for a more important role in the Christian movement, will be attained, not merely by concentration on the training of women in the Orient, but by the promotion of study abroad for certain carefully chosen students of special ability and maturity. Even granted the inevitable loss in leaders due to the impermanence of women in professional life, far-reaching results in

Eastern leadership would undoubtedly accrue from a definite policy of scholarship training carried out over a period of years in America or elsewhere.

The success of such a plan would depend on the choice of students and on their guidance during the period of foreign study. It is important that the more mature students, preferably graduates, should be chosen. The alienation of younger students from their national culture, which is often the result of a period of foreign study, tends to militate against their influence on their return and causes serious personal maladjustments. Guidance of foreign students in their educational and social problems and friendly personal contacts with them are of great importance. This may well be considered a definite part of the new mission task. This can not be too strongly emphasized as a period of foreign study may prove a heavy liability as well as a great asset. The Christian movement in the Orient will in no small measure be determined by the currents of influence which these students bring back from the West.

As the number of trained Eastern women, able to assume major responsibilities, increases, it is obvious that the need for missionaries in administrative positions will decrease. This does not mean, however, that foreign workers will not be greatly needed in other capacities—in schools, in hospitals, in evangelistic or social work. A major task will be that of constantly training leaders in these various lines of effort. Eastern women, who have already assumed the administrative control of Christian institutions, express their eagerness to have associated with them permanently a certain number of foreign workers, for the sake of in-

ternational contact. The paucity of Christian leaders and the pressing needs of the Orient in many lines, moreover, leave little doubt as to the desirability of having women missionaries in many special types of service. These various lines of non-administrative work indicate therefore, the future direction and goal of mission effort of the foreign leader.

The eventual transfer of control of Christian enterprises to Eastern women should not, in any sense, be interpreted as curtailing the usefulness of the foreign worker, but rather as releasing her for larger opportunities of service. Many missionaries welcome this transition period as the entrance into a new freedom. Doctor Luella Miner, in a personal letter, voices this opinion, "What are the former school principals doing? you ask. For the most part they are serving as teachers or religious workers in these same schools, and enjoying hugely the opportunity for more religious work and for greater freedom for personal work with diminished institutional flavor. Moreover, it is now possible for the missionary to concentrate and do a thoroughly good job of teaching." Such a statement shows that the end of the former type of missionary effort does not mark a decline of influence as some missionaries have feared.

The key-note of this new relationship between the Christian workers of the East and West is cooperation in a common task on a basis of equality. Formerly the missionary had to assume the burden of the responsibility; the Orient was the recipient of the Western benefits. The East was not in a position to choose, since unaware of what the West had to offer. Through that period missions have brought their special gifts to the

East. For Oriental women they have helped to unlock the treasures of Western learning, and to prepare women for the new social freedom, and have offered opportunities for spiritual development. Today the East is aware of Western values and will exercise wisely its right of selection. Women missionaries are entering on a new era of pioneering. The pioneering of the past was geographical. It involved the promotion of a new idea and the extension of Christian influence across new boundaries. The pioneering of the future is psychological. It will mean the exploration of new fields of cooperation and the intensive deepening of life's contacts. The contact of the West in the East is no less needed in this new day but can be made effective only on the new basis. The opportunity of foreign workers in the future will be far richer than it was in the past since they are now allied with the awakened women leaders in each country of the East, who are called upon to participate fully in the life of their times. The missionary effort will move not against the current, but with the full tide of a forward movement of women.

The earlier missionaries, who knew Indian women only behind the four walls of the zenanas, or Chinese women with bound feet and bound minds, or Japanese women limited to the privacy of the home, could have scarcely dreamed of the number of Eastern women of today, intellectually and spiritually developed for equal partnership with foreign leaders. In the old days the missionary was always in the position of the giver, of the teacher with the child, and always more or less on a pedestal. Those pioneer workers must have drawn deeply on their spiritual reserves, as

there were few women in the East, to share with them on a basis of mental and spiritual congeniality. Today the foreign worker finds very rich possibilities of close fellowship and friendship in the spirit of real equality. This new relationship, which has done away with the artificial prestige of the foreigner, is her greatest asset for the future. Working in close cooperation with the women of the Orient, the foreign leader now has the opportunity of entering more deeply into Eastern life, sharing its values, and contributing whatever gifts she may have to offer.

Sharing in the life of the East will lead the missionary of the future into a freer interpretation of her task, which will include much more non-institutional work and more recognition of the values inherent in normal, friendly, human relationships. Under the pressure of institutional work these informal contacts have often been either entirely eliminated or crowded in as an addition to an already over-burdened day's schedule. Routine duties in institutions or direct evangelism have taken precedence, and time spent in friendly contacts has been rarely considered as a part of missionary service. This may have been inevitable but nevertheless has meant an irreparable loss, when one realizes that the warp and woof of Christian influences is woven of these direct personal contacts.

The present changing situation in the Orient offers unusual possibilities for the informal contacts of foreign leaders with individual Eastern women and with women's groups. The newly awakened interest of women in civic and national life gives the woman missionary an opportunity to share freely whatever increments of wisdom she may have gained from a longer

experience of participation in public life and from the freer social background of the West. It throws upon her a responsibility to follow closely the new trends of Eastern thought in order that she may intelligently cooperate in the woman's movement. She is also faced with the necessity of maintaining contact with modern thought movements in the West, in order that she may help in their interpretation.

The Western leader in the East does not assume a front line leadership in women's movements. The time is past when the foreign worker can promote or is called upon to promote these various efforts for advance. The initiative for aggressive and effective promotion of social reform in the East rests with the nationals. But if the foreign leader is deeply concerned with Eastern women in their problems; if she is in touch with changing trends, and identified intelligently and sympathetically with the life about her, her friendly cooperation will not only be welcomed but will be sought. She may be privileged to share even in the executive councils at the heart of these movements. Thus through this channel of intimate contact some new influences may flow into the changing thought life of Eastern women.

India at the present time offers unusual opportunity for such cooperation because of the rapid advance of women in organizational life. Missionaries who have shared in some of these movements have counted it a real privilege. Doctor Oliver of the National Christian Council in India, in writing of the All-India Women's Conference in Lahore says, "It was interesting to see quite a sprinkling of Europeans, many of them missionaries, among the delegates, and this is right. For the

ideals that the Conference is striving for are so largely theirs. One could not share in this Conference without being profoundly moved to thankfulness, admiration, and hope."² Mrs. Benade of Lahore also calls special attention to this new opportunity for the foreign worker. "A new and inspiring type of service is opening for some of us among educated Indian women—the All-India Conference. It is thrilling to see Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians, both Indian and Western, settling down to tackle the problems of child marriage, girls' education, etc. Unless women missionaries take cognizance of modern educated Indian women and their ideas and efforts, their missionary work is going to have a hole in it. We need many women to take a share in this work."³

Obviously not all foreign leaders can participate directly in such conferences. Their special gifts naturally lead them into other lines of service. But those foreign workers, who by training and experience have a definite contribution to make, should be released from institutional routine to devote themselves to these richly rewarding personal contacts. And for all foreign workers in the Orient today it is of vital importance to be constantly aware of the new interests and activities of Eastern women, the range of which is steadily extending from personal problems and social reforms immediately affecting women, to the fundamental social and economic problems of national life. If the Christian worker from the West loses herself in the routine life of a mission compound, immured in a mis-

² *National Christian Council Review*, March, 1931, p. 148.

³ *Forward Looking Program of the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 26.

sion-centric world, she will cut off her vital influence and relationship, not unlike the spider that spun from a tenuous thread from the rafter and became so absorbed in his circular spinning that he cut through his connection from above and with his web was destroyed.

The missionary leader has the opportunity to share, not only in the local and national movements of Eastern women, but also in the interpretation of international problems which have entered deeply into the consciousness of the women leaders of the Orient. Recent events in every country of the East have brought the poignant realization that women must participate in the questions of disarmament and world peace. Women of the East and West face common problems. The intimate contacts between Eastern and Western leaders in the Orient, established on the basis of a high idealism, offer rich possibilities for future world understanding. This new responsibility of cooperation in an effort for world peace will deepen the meaning and widen the horizon of missionary effort.

For these perplexing national and international problems of the modern age, thoughtful women of the Orient are seeking a spiritual basis of solution. One feels stirring in the Orient today a growing consciousness of the need for spiritual reality in a material world. This finds frequent expression among women of different faiths as expressed in the All-Asia Conference. "This Conference, realizing the important part that religion plays in the moulding of the individual and national character, is of the opinion that in order to promote a spirit of religious tolerance, love and harmony amongst communities, the lives and teachings of great

religious teachers should be taught.”⁴ The closing words of the president’s address at the Madras All-India Conference are also significant of this spirit. “There is One above us who shall lead us to light and bring us towards the fuller development of life, towards attaining the right stature of womanhood.”⁵

This desire for spiritual fellowship reveals the need of men and women of different faiths to face the forces of secularism dominant in the world of today. In the confusion of an age of declining faith in all religions—whether Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism or Christianity—those who believe in a spiritual basis of life are irresistibly drawn together. One finds many evidences of this, as for example, the International Fellowship Movement in India, already mentioned, which brings together men and women who are prepared “to find the unity that links humanity together in the sharing of spiritual values, in a profound reverence for life and in recognition of the intrinsic worth of every human soul.”⁶

In this quest for the spiritual basis of life, Christian leaders of the West can share fully and creatively, bringing to this fellowship their interpretation of the meaning of Christ in a modern world. This infusion of all life with spiritual meaning is the primary service of the missionary, whatever may be the concrete form of work. As Miss Emma Horning expresses it, “The spiritual universe of the minds of men is the vast field in

⁴ All-Asian Conference Report, Lahore, 1931.

⁵ Mrs. P. K. Roy, “Presidential Address,” *Stri Dharma*, February, 1932.

⁶ From an address delivered by Mr. P. A. Wadia to the Poona International Fellowship.

which we missionaries have to work. Our business is to create atmosphere, love, harmony, fellowship—everything that goes toward the development of Christian character. If we do not feel that divine atmosphere of creative love and brotherhood moving in our midst, we know that our work is not really effective.”⁷ The fields of creative adventure are many. The ecstasy of such spiritual adventure is sure to be contagious.”⁷ In such creative living the missionary’s primary goal is to exemplify the spirit of Christ in the world of today. There need be no lack of sympathy with other faiths in sharing positively of her own deepest religious conviction.

There is little question of the receptivity of the Orient to the message of Christ, as we have already said in a previous chapter, His spirit has left its impress on Asia, permeating social ideals and entering more deeply into the lives of men and women than they have realized. The imagery of His teaching needs no long explanation in the East. One has a feeling that the Oriental woman can enter easily into the path of life trod by His sandaled feet in Galilee. The essential quality of Christ is appreciated in the Orient in a peculiar degree often more deeply than in the Occident, if His message is relieved from the onus of an exclusively Western interpretation.

But too often the Christian presentation of Christ has been obscured by sectarian divisions, and by the complexity of Western forms which are unrelated to Eastern life. Too often the emphasis has been more on these than on the central figure of Christ. The identifi-

⁷ Miss Emma Horning, “Missionaries as Creators,” *The Chinese Recorder*, March, 1932.

cation of Christianity with Western civilization, moreover, has led to a confusion of issues. Many in the Orient have recognized that Western civilization is not in harmony with the mind of Christ, and have, therefore, turned away from Christianity, although responding to the appeal of Christ. Christianity must be released from this too narrow relationship to the West, in order that it may be reoriented and find its way more fully into the life of the East. The foreign worker in the East today should not have a defensive attitude toward the West as a Christian civilization, a label which in many respects it does not merit. The recognition that the West has inadequately represented the Christian ideal does not dim the glory of Christ's teaching. Perhaps the very inadequacy of the Western interpretation may point the way by which Christianity in the East can achieve its goal. The Western leader of spiritual power, entering deeply into the life of the East, may aid in bringing a new appreciation of the real meaning of Christ's message.

The time is ripe in the Orient for a simpler presentation of Christianity freed from all of its encumbrances. Interpreters are needed who can demonstrate the reality of a Christian way of life with new freshness and simplicity. The perfect channel of expression will be not always the spoken word but also personal contact and the silent contagion of a Christian life. One need only hear the expression of deep appreciation of individual missionaries, whose lives have left their impress on the lives that they have touched, to realize that their daily example, not their direct utterance, was the real secret of their power. Who can estimate the influence radiating from mission homes as an exemplifi-

cation of home and family life on the high level of Christian principles?

This idea of sharing the things of the spirit through intimate daily contact is expressed by a deeply Christian young Indian woman. "Our message can only be handed on from life to life. I firmly believe that the Kingdom of God is a fellowship of lovers of God and man, and in order that this fellowship be a reality and that the followers of Jesus be members of this, they must seek to live and share the religious life of one another. It is the most difficult adventure but on the plane of love they can do it. This means sharing a whole life with its varied expression and experience."

The Christian leader from the West who can, through daily fellowship, express the essential quality of Christ's teaching—the union of the inner life with the dynamic spirit of service—will contribute richly to the spiritual life of the Orient. It is of vital importance that Christian leaders from the West, who can render this service, should share in the spiritual life of the East, in the present period, when a new world order is evolving. The material influences from the West are flowing into the East through many channels. As world contacts along all other lines multiply, there is increased need for international relationship based on the deeper things of the spirit. The universal meaning of Christianity can be fully developed only by the continued contact and cooperation of the West with the East, since the Christian groups in all countries are interdependent. This contact, however, must be secured not merely by the West in the East through the mission enterprise, but by the East in the West through Oriental leaders, men and women, who have much to

contribute to Western thought. By increasing these contacts the Christian movement in America would aid in promoting world understanding and world friendship.

Such a new basis of knowledge of the Orient and interrelationship with the Orient is an urgent necessity at the present time of rapid transformation in all phases of Oriental life. Especially is this true with reference to the changes in the life of women. The prevailing Western concept of the Eastern woman is that of the great mass of under privileged women in Asia. There is, as a whole, little realization of the rapid forward movement of the educated minority of women in each country of the East. In order that mission effort for women be planned effectively for the future, a reorientation in the point of view of America toward the Orient is necessary. This will involve a new emphasis in the presentation of the missionary cause for women. Hitherto the primary emphasis has been placed on the differences between the women of the East and West. The appeal has been made to bring to the depressed illiterate Oriental woman, laboring under social and religious handicaps, the freedom and privileges which women of a Christian civilization enjoy. The weaknesses of non-Christian religions and restrictive social customs have been stressed; for example, child marriage and widowhood in India, foot-binding and concubinage in China, these handicaps of the East have been contrasted with the freedom allowed by Christianity for the development of the personality of women.

Eastern leaders deeply resent a type of appeal for mission effort, which is based solely on destructive

criticism of the evils of the Orient, and which does not recognize the constructive efforts at reform, being made by the Orient itself. As one Indian leader said, "Arguments used in the West to support Christianity in India often assume the form of downright vilification of Hinduism."⁸ Many missionaries also deplore this current presentation of the East; their constructive work on the field, in sympathetic contact with the non-Christian community, is often jeopardized by the presentation in America of mission work in terms of a backward Orient. Such an appeal savors of an attitude of superiority and leaves an impression on the Orient which it is difficult for missionaries to counteract. Moreover, when they return on furlough, they feel the pressure of this prevailing concept of the East, and have a sense of compulsion to meet the current expectation regarding Eastern conditions and mission work, since the justification for missions has been built on this basis.

"It is hard to present the claims of Burma," a senior missionary from Burma confided to the writer, "because there are no dark shadows of child brides, widows, and purdah." To present progress and change as the keynote of East, whether in India, China or Japan, seems to refute the claims of further need for missions. Some years ago a Chinese woman leader, who had listened with great approval to a stirring presentation of the advance of Chinese womanhood, given by Grace Coppock, the great Y.W.C.A. leader in China, was shocked to hear the comment of a woman in the audience, "Well that is very different from my

⁸ *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay. Quoted in the *Indian Social Reformer*, May 11, 1929.

idea of China. I thought Chinese women were all in ignorance and darkness. Why should we give money for work for them, if there is in China such a spirit of progress?"

Such an attitude is based on the lack of understanding of the situation in the East today. The mission appeal is not weakened by an emphasis on progress. The advance of Eastern women does not close the door to mission opportunity but rather opens new doorways for future effort. The old presentation of the mission cause is not in harmony with the changing East. Likenesses, not differences, must be the basis for mission effort in an emerging world order, which is daily bringing the East and West more closely together. Christianity for the women of the East can not assert its claims merely on the social evils of non-Christian religions. There is no denial that these evils exist but they are being attacked by advanced leaders in these religions, and non-Christian religions are beginning to accommodate themselves to the changes from within. If Christianity has no other claims than these differences from the non-Christian religions its claims will soon be invalidated by the process of change within these religions. Christianity must base its case, not on a destructive, undermining attack on other faiths but on the positive emphasis on its own deep spiritual meaning of the "Life Abundant." For the women of the East, as also for women of the West, the illiterate masses and the highly privileged—for all alike, the message of Christ to the woman of Samaria has permanent value, "The water that I shall give shall be a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

Moreover, the appeal for continued mission effort in

the East in the future will not be made with the objective of direct and single-handed service to the great masses in the Orient. There is no failure to recognize their appalling need for uplift in all lines of human effort. But the very recognition of the greatness of the task dictates the wisdom of the approach to its solution through cooperative effort of the West with the East. The emergence of Eastern women leaders, prepared to assume larger responsibilities, makes possible this more effective plan of concentration and cooperation. The fact that America can no longer think of all women of the East as in sharp black and white contrast with the women of the West, does not eliminate the appeal for service in the Orient. The development of Eastern women presents, for foreign workers in the East, the new possibilities for intellectual companionship and spiritual sharing in cooperative efforts. This new relationship will lead to the fusion of the gifts of the East and the West in a richer world culture. To have a part in such a great adventure is an enviable privilege.

Such an interpretation of the mission task for the future calls for a high order of woman missionary. The changing East today needs the best that America can offer. Specialized training and experience in her chosen field of effort, intellectual capacity and an eager desire to understand and appreciate foreign culture, sympathy and insight in human contacts, the courageous spirit of the pioneer and a creative Christian personality with spiritual resources, deep and abiding—these are the gifts which the missionary should offer for service in the East. But above all else she must bring the priceless gift of friendship, more precious than the gold, frankincense and myrrh, which the Wise Men,

two thousand years ago, brought to the manger in Bethlehem.

The mission movement in the East has contributed richly in the past to the life of women. The future offers an even greater field for service, as missionary effort adapts itself to the changing situation. In the new day Christian leaders of the East and West are being drawn more closely together in cooperation and fellowship, seeking spiritual reality in a modern materialistic world. The highest Christian service in the future, as in the past, will be in the realm of the spirit. For the women of the East, Christ's emphasis on the supreme value of the individual has had a special significance. As they move forward today into a fuller, freer life, the Christian message will have for them a deeper meaning, leading them to interpret freedom, not in terms of personal privilege but of high responsibility and service.

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